

# THE CATHOLIC MIND

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## *The Rights of Workers*

HIS HOLINESS, POPE PIUS XII

*An address to the U. S. delegation to the International Labor Office, at a special audience in the Vatican, July 16, 1947.*

YOU have come, Gentlemen, from an important meeting of the international organization that is charged with improving the condition of the working man. No doubt you find it a vast and seemingly unending task but it is one which challenges all that is noble in the human heart. We cannot give too high praise to your aims.

History is witness to the grave concern with which the Church has always treated this question. Not that the Church has a mandate directly to regulate economic life. But the social and economic orders cannot be divorced from the moral, and it is her privilege and duty to affirm and proclaim the unchanging principles of morality.

They rise above the storm-tossed sea of social controversies as beacons whose piercing light should guide every attempt launched to bring a cure to social sores.

The honest working man does not wish to improve his position by trampling on the liberties of others, which should be as sacred to him as his own.

But deep down in his heart there is the rightful desire to be independent and secure possession of what is necessary to provide for himself and his family a way of life in keeping with his dignity and his conscience.

That is why the Church will always defend him against any system that would deny his inalienable rights, which derive not from any civil society, but from his own human personality, and would reduce him to the state of complete subjection to the bureaucratic clique holding political power.

We are sure that you, Gentlemen, will agree that any organization for improving the condition of the working man will be a mechanism without soul and hence without life and fecundity, unless its charter proclaims and effectively prescribes first, respect for the human person in all men, no matter what their social position; secondly, acknowledgment of the solidarity of all people in forming the human family, created by the living omnipotence of God; thirdly, the imperative demand on society to place the common good above personal gain, the service of each of all.

When the spirit of man is reformed and stabilized according to these truths, the condition of the working man will be improved.

No power of the State will reform the spirit of man; that is the sacred office of religion. And the State, whose foundations rest on morality and religion, will be the surest protector and defender of the working man.

We pray God's blessings on your earnest efforts in this field; and may His choicest graces descend on you and all who are dear to you.



### *Against Laissez-faire*

We cannot live with fluctuations, such as that which took place between 1929 and 1932, when business volume dropped more than fifty per cent. Another collapse of that magnitude might cost us our free economy. If through wise action we can make our economy operate more effectively, the real income of most of our people can be doubled within twenty-five years.—*Paul Hoffman, of the Committee for Economic Development, before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, June 25, 1947.*

## *Westward the Course*

STANLEY B. JAMES

*Reprinted from COLUMBIA\**

THE collapse of the European culture and civilization in their homeland needs no emphasis; it is patent to all the world. But one who with his own eyes watches the development of tragedy from close at hand may be pardoned for underlining the fact. The feature in this process which most impresses this observer is not so much the material damage—ruined cities to be rebuilt, lost industries to be re-established—as the state of spiritual exhaustion, the absence of that morale which would enable the peoples of this Continent to rally their strength and fight persistently, methodically and successfully against the forces of decay.

The word "methodically" should be specially noted. The principles upon which the old order was based are no longer operative in a vital way and, in consequence, there is a fatal indecision and conflict of opinion which make effective co-ordination and action difficult. There is among us, on this European side of the Atlantic, no clear idea as to where we are going and what we want.

The contrast in this respect between the broken nations, who once represented the older tradition, and

those who are seeking to undermine that order is striking. These latter have a clearly defined ideology capable of creating unity of purpose between those of different races, a dogmatic system enforced rigorously and a messianic vision which sees the whole world subjugated to Communism. The present pliancy of its leaders must not deceive. The mood of concession characteristic of the present phase is not a sign of weakness but of strength. It is the very assurance of ultimate success which allows them to draw in here and to compromise there. They feel that they have time and youth on their side and that ultimately they must triumph over Powers they regard as belonging to a doomed order. Does not their philosophy tell them that the triumph of the proletarian revolution is inevitable? Russian messianism relies on this philosophy as Israel relied on its Covenant with Jahweh.

This European decline, so clearly seen and stated by General Smuts, would appear to be a matter of vital importance for the future of the whole world. If we accept Cardinal Newman's view that the civilization of which Europe was the birthplace

\* New Haven 7, Conn., May, 1947

is not merely a civilization but civilization itself and that the culture which grew up around the Mediterranean is of that universal kind which gives it a claim on all peoples and all ages, then the matter cannot but seem of grave concern to every nation.

Writers of the school of Hilaire Belloc have gone far in identifying not only the Faith but the social order which sprang from the Faith with this Continent and, if they are right, the collapse in question must imply that the very foundations of all for which we have been fighting are giving way and that we shall be buried in the ruins. The hard-won gains of centuries will be lost and we shall return to barbarism. There are, indeed, pessimists who declare that this return to barbarism has commenced. The triumph of the machine and the disappearance of all that is personal, gracious and beautiful, they assert, is inevitable, and we must either bow to the storm, allowing it to blast its way through the world, wrecking in its path all that the creative spirit of man has built, or hold on to a position that is already lost.

But do not let us accept this pessimistic conclusion too quickly. There is one consideration which should warn us that it is based on a fallacy. The assumption that western society is a European creation and will die when its connection with the place of its origin is cut is false. Geographically, Europe is no more than a prom-

ontory of Asia, and this is true not only in the physical sense but also spiritually. It was not on European soil that arose the movement that, when the Roman Empire fell into decay, saved the West. That movement originated in Jerusalem.

### THE "ISRAEL OF GOD"

In the great crisis which overtook the Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, Rome was unable to save itself. Its spiritual, moral and cultural resources were exhausted and its creative powers spent. It had to look for a Savior to the East. It was the Christian Church, the "Israel of God," as St. Paul called it, which came to the rescue. They were Jews who first preached the Gospel that saved the West from relapsing into its primitive barbarism. It is true that the new impetus that came from the East used the material of the Roman civilization to build Christendom. It did this as we sometimes take the stone and timber of a building that has fallen into decay in order to erect another edifice.

The creative powers of the Church, however, were not content to rebuild according to the ancient design. The material they found on hand, they refashioned. The Europe which they built was no such imitation of the Empire over which the Caesars had ruled as would have been, had it been realized, Mussolini's grandiose scheme for reviving the glory of an-



cient Rome. Had the Duce succeeded, which he could not have done (for history does not repeat itself in that imitative manner), we should have had a great pagan society spreading itself over the earth, a society as unlike the Christendom created by the Church as it is possible to conceive. No, Christianity used the ruins of the old culture and the old civilization to erect a structure informed and transformed by the spirit that had emanated from the East.

That is a fact too often forgotten. The identification of the Faith with Europe has gone too far. It has led us to ignore what the West owes to Jerusalem, to Hebrew prophets and lawgivers, to Moses and Isaiahs, and, above all, to the Jewish Messiah in Whom both law and prophecy were fulfilled. "Spiritually," said Pope Pius XI, "we are Semites."

#### FORGETFULNESS OF ITS ORIGIN

It is, in my opinion, this forgetfulness of its Hebrew origin which more than anything else, explains the cause of the European decline. It has tried to be self-sufficient. The old barbarism, which Hitler tried to revive, and the old paganism, which Mussolini tried to revive, have failed because they both ignored the patent fact that the Continent which they professed themselves to be guarding against alien invasion, owed its life to an "alien invasion." But they are not the only sinners in this respect.

I hold that the exhaustion of the Old World, revealed but not caused by the war-effort, is due primarily to the loss of stamina bequeathed by its Hebrew origin and that it had become too self-contained.

It needs to renew its life at the source—not merely its supernatural source (that is obvious)—but at its earthly source. It would have been well advised if it had done in spirit what St. Jerome did both in spirit and literally. When Rome became too corrupt for his liking, he betook himself to Bethlehem and there set to work translating the Holy Scriptures. He went back to the birthplace of the new Europe and engaged in a task which would bring him in touch with the soul of the people to whom belonged the Divine Messiah and His human mother. Europe needed to make a spiritual pilgrimage to its true Home and to be reborn where it had been first born. Then it would have been able to resist the pseudo-messianism of Marx and his followers. It had a choice between the True Messiah and the false. It refused to recognize the first and it therefore laid itself open to the attacks of the second.

To speak in more concrete terms and to particularize, one of the most helpful signs of such a return would have been a growing acquaintance with those Scriptures St. Jerome set himself to translate. The Holy Father's recent Encyclical on the Bi-

ble shows his awareness as to the deficiency in this respect of those to whom he addresses himself. Still more explicit was the protest made by Cardinal Faulhaber against the Nazi attack on the Bible as a Jewish book. That protest, uttered in a course of sermons preached in Munich cathedral, took the form of a plea on behalf of the Holy Scriptures and an account of the large place which its teachings had had in the making of Christian Germany. In recommending the Bible to his Catholic countrymen, the Cardinal was putting his finger on a remedy for their ills which might have been taken to heart by all the faithful on the Continent. Perhaps it is too late to prevent the tragedy, which now seems inevitable. But, at least, it is something if, from that tragedy, the rest of the world learns a lesson.

#### A SIGNIFICANT EVENT

To return once more to our main theme, it is obvious that, since Christianity (leaving its native Palestine and picking up and using on its journey westward the remnants of a decaying European society) is a migrant and not an indigenous product of the European soil, it is free to migrate once more. In other words, as it left Palestine, it can leave Europe and establish its center elsewhere, taking with it that type of culture and civilization which it has created. Indeed, as we shall see, there are signs

that such a shifting of the center is taking place and is one of the most significant events of our times.

If that be true, the question will naturally arise as to the direction in which this "shifting" is moving. The answer to that query is given us in some striking facts and figures cited by Dr. Denis Gwynn in that writer's book, *The Vatican and War in Europe*. Summing up the results of his observations, Dr. Gwynn in the course of his Introduction, writes thus:

One aspect of the recent pontificates which has escaped general notice is the rapid decline of the importance of Europe in relation to the government of the Church. In the later chapters of this brief survey I have dealt at length with the deliberate development by Benedict XV of a more self-contained government of the Church in other Continents. It is impossible I believe, to regard this development as being unrelated to the decline of Europe in the last war. The rapid growth of population in North and South America during the past century has been accompanied by a very remarkable expansion of the Catholic Church beyond the Atlantic. The number of its bishops has increased in proportion to the growth of the Catholic population, and the government of the Church in both Americas has at the same time become more independent and self-contained. The Holy See remains, as it always must remain, the supreme and sovereign head of the Church in all the world. But the Holy See itself has inevitably become less identified with Europe, and particularly with Italy.

Those words were written in 1940. They refer to the effects of the war

between 1914 and 1918. Events since then have deepened the emphasis that might be given this statement. If, at the time of Benedict XV it could be said that the Papacy had been impressed by the decline of Europe, how much more is that decline apparent at the present time! The connection between the policy which this dictated and the encouragement recently given by Pius XII to Catholic migration from Europe to Argentina is obvious. The desire to strengthen the Church's position overseas is plainly to be seen.

I cannot leave the subject, however, without mentioning the relationship between this westward movement and the particular responsibility which rests upon the present generation. If America is being called to occupy the front rank in the Church's forces, it is for a special reason. And that reason is a positive one. The motive is not merely that of effecting an escape from a Continent which is falling in ruins to one which, comparatively speaking, is in its youth.

The answer to the question will be more clearly seen if we consider the situation as it exists today compared with that which followed the breakdown of the Roman Empire. When Rome fell before the onslaught of the barbarians, even the greatest of the Church's sons abandoned hope of the present world. St. Augustine wrote *The City of God* directing attention to "the City that is above."

St. Benedict led his monks into the wilderness there, in prayer and meditation, to await the end of all things. With a similar purpose the hermits of the eastern deserts built their colonies of contemplative eremites.

The dominant note of the Catholicism of that time was other-worldliness. It was commonly assumed that the Church's task on earth was completed and that she had now only to prepare for the coming of her Lord and the destruction of the world. That phase served its purpose and established the priority of the eternal over time, of the supernatural over the natural. But the dominant thought of our own age is different. We are not contemplating a general exodus from the present scene, but rather the descent of the New Jerusalem and its establishment among men here and now. Our motto is "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done *on earth* as it is in Heaven." If we retreat on our heavenly Base, it is that we may be reinforced for militant action that will conquer the material world for God. Our purpose is to invade every sphere of our civilization—its culture, its industry, its commerce, its politics—in the name of Jesus Christ and to set up His banner on the battlements of the social order and world-kingdom emerging from the present crisis.

The twentieth century is laying the material foundations for this new

social order and world-kingdom much as the builders of the Roman Empire laid the foundations for a future Christendom. It does not, for the most part, know what it is doing any more than did the builders of imperial Rome. But that is, as a matter of fact, what it is doing, and it is for us, citizens of the City of God, to enter into its labors and build on this material foundation the Kingdom of the Messiah.

It is not Europe (whose day is done) but America which will be at the center of this new world-king-

dom. It is there that will arise the new Rome. It is there that are to be found the material resources and the youthful energy capable of undertaking the task. And it is there consequently, that the forces of Christ must concentrate. It is out of the mingled races of the Continent that lies between the Atlantic and the Pacific that God will form His Vanguard for the conquest of the world—a Vanguard on whose banner is written: "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done *on earth* as it is done in Heaven."



### *Wise Industrialist*

We will have to begin by muzzling such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and by recognizing, and sincerely regretting, that there is bad feeling on both sides . . . Let no businessman be naive enough to believe that restrictive legislation will be any more effective in bringing about industrial harmony than the Volstead Act was in discouraging drinking.

The casualness with which we capitalists seem willing—nay even eager—to invite the collapse of our economic system in almost every industrial dispute for the sole purpose of thwarting labor is utterly incomprehensible. Labor not only produces the goods and consumes a large part of them; labor also has the votes.

Eventual labor unity is practically a foregone conclusion. I also believe we may ultimately see a strong alliance between labor and the farmer, accompanied by a tremendous expansion of the manufacturing and selling co-operatives.

Then, if capitalism has not already gone by the board, its continued existence will be completely at the mercy of an estranged 95 per cent of the electorate.—*Cyrus Eaton in the CHICAGO LAW REVIEW, June, 1947*

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## *Color Line in Baseball*

RT. REV. MSGR. RAYMOND J. CAMPION

*Reprinted from the* **INTERRACIAL REVIEW**\*

THE Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council, which is engaged in the enterprise of promoting community harmony and goodwill by bringing together American people of different racial origins, deserves all praise and commendation. Whatever assistance we may lend to its work reflects credit on ourselves. Its members are devoted to a high ideal of service to their fellow citizens. This high ideal is sanctified by the blessings and teachings of the Catholic Church. The Council itself tries to bring to the solution of community problems the clear guidance of Christian truth. It aims at nothing less than justice to all men without exception.

Certainly such an ideal and purpose merits the sympathy and assistance of all in our community. Some may ask: "What are the measures of its accomplishment? What has the Council done to make Brooklyn a better place for its people, especially its racial minorities?" Before answering these questions may I call attention briefly to a very hopeful sign and solid achievement in interracial justice. I refer to Mr. Branch Rickey's action in bringing a colored man into Major League baseball.

The Brooklyn Baseball Club of the National League and its president, Mr. Branch Rickey, deserve the highest praise and support from this group because in modern times it was the first baseball club in a major league of organized baseball to include a recognized Negro player on its team. Mr. Branch Rickey will never completely know nor adequately appreciate what encouragement, hope and confidence he has given the Negro community not only in Brooklyn but throughout the United States. Endless columns of comment on Mr. Rickey's employment of Jackie Robinson have been written. I am impressed by the fact that Mr. Rickey faced the problem honestly as a Christian gentleman and did not permit prejudice to sway his judgment. He employed a colored baseball player on the basis of that player's merits. In acting this way he upheld the finest traditions of sports and at the same time struck a mighty blow against discrimination.

In speaking of this I desire to call the attention of this Council to the fact that it can accomplish comparable results in promoting interracial justice. I do not look upon the

Brooklyn Catholic Council as just another "pressure group." Neither is it fair to so describe the Catholic Interracial Movement as it steadily spreads throughout our beloved country. The entire Catholic Interracial Movement is carrying out with a sincere, honest effort the teachings of Jesus Christ on justice and charity to all. It has secured practical concrete results which have promoted happy community living. Its record of achievements shows that it promotes harmony and eliminates friction and disorder. In this it differs radically from Communism and leftist tendencies which can only thrive on disorder and human misery.

The breaking of the pattern of discrimination in organized baseball came about as the result of an interracial effort motivated by the teachings of Our Lord on justice and charity.

The summer of 1942 found our people in profound distress. We were at war. The Negro people were shocked. Discrimination in the Army and Navy throughout the land seared their souls. As sponsor for hundreds of Negro children, I was desperate. My people were restricted to an inferior status. I could find neither homes nor jobs for the Negro boys and girls who were ready to leave the Little Flower House of Providence, our orphanage at Wading River.

In this emergency I approached

Colonel Larry MacPhail, then President of the Brooklyn Baseball Club. I was anxious to get MacPhail to break down the pattern of discrimination in organized professional baseball. His record of service to his country led me to believe he would respond to my appeal. MacPhail's reaction was to publish my letter and his answer even before he sent it to me.

I realized that a lone individual would have no effect in this matter. So I formed an interracial committee. The members of this committee were: Dan Burley, sports editor of the *Amsterdam News*, Joe Bostic of the same paper, Commissioner Ferdinand Morton of the Civil Service Commission, George K. Hunton, editor of the *Interracial Review*, and Henry Turner, president of the Brooklyn branch of the NAACP.

#### MR. RICKEY TAKES ACTION

At our meeting with Colonel MacPhail, the entire baseball situation was frankly discussed. We did not have to tell him about Negro baseball players. He knew the best of them. He promised to make a statement about discrimination in organized baseball. This he did not do.

Our meeting with Colonel MacPhail produced nothing constructive in the way of breaking down the pattern of discrimination in organized baseball. However, we received nation-wide publicity. For this our

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group was grateful to the MacPhail interview.

The next move in the picture was an invitation I received from the office of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis to attend a closed meeting of the presidents of both Major Leagues at the Hotel Roosevelt. At that meeting Judge Landis reiterated what he had frequently said: that there was no agreement to bar colored men from organized Major League baseball. Branch Rickey, who was present, took literally the Judge's statement and acted upon it. Personally I honor Mr. Rickey for his honest and sincere accomplishment. His predecessor missed a golden opportunity.

The destruction of the discriminatory pattern in organized baseball by an interracial effort is a lesson this Council should take to its heart. By

our united efforts we can in a reasonably short time bring Christian justice to our minorities. The Ives-Quinn Law, which brought into being the State Commission Against Discrimination in Employment, is setting an example of justice which other States are following. I am glad I had the opportunity to serve on the New York State War Council's Committee Against Discrimination in war industries. From the experience of that Committee came our present law.

The members of the Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council are greatly encouraged by the steady progress in interracial justice that has been made throughout the country. While this progress is notable we must not rest content with it. Nothing short of equal justice is acceptable to us.



### *Tact and Leadership*

Tact is the ability to deal with others without giving offence. It contributes much to the effectiveness of the leader. Those who are totally devoid of it will be unable to command effectively for more than a short time. Even the most tactful will find it impossible from time to time to avoid making enemies, but the resentments aroused by the tactless, increase and multiply so rapidly that, in a very short time, the friction of uneasy personal relationships will bring the whole machinery of command almost to a full stop, or at least to a painful and fitful and slow grind.—*Lieut.-Gen. M. J. Costello in The CATHOLIC VOICE, Cork, Ireland, April, 1947.*

# Housing for the Lowest Third

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY

Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities

**D**ETAILED studies of housing conditions in the past fifteen years have brought to light very serious situations affecting the welfare of millions of people in our cities. They brought to our attention in a dramatic way the very bad housing conditions under which approximately one-third of the population lives. People have been talking and writing about slums ever since organized social welfare agencies have existed in American communities—since the early 1840's. Until very recently, however, there was no recognition among the people as a whole of the seriousness of our housing problems. The welfare agencies that had been studying housing between 1840 and 1900 reached only a limited number of people. There was a general conviction all through this period that bad housing conditions were inevitable, just as it was inevitable that large numbers of people were destined to live in poverty throughout their entire lives.

Beginning with the 1890's, however, there developed a more serious recognition of the social implications of poor and unsanitary housing. In the decade of the 90's, the pioneer leaders of the settlement movement,

like Lillian Wald and Jane Addams, helped to bring before a larger number of people the social conditions of American slums, based on their own experience and the experience of their co-workers. They were able to give the people of the country a clear picture of life in the slums; of the lack of sanitary facilities; of the lack of heating and ventilation; of overcrowding; of buildings that were rapidly deteriorating for want of repairs.

In this period also there was a growing recognition of the close connection between the living conditions in American slums and the incidence of ill health, of tuberculosis, of juvenile and adult delinquency, and the general deterioration of family life.

During the decade of the 90's, there was laid the foundation for a movement to set up standards covering housing conditions in American cities. Tenement house laws were passed in a number of States providing for the setting up of these standards. In other words, it was recognized that housing was one of those things like pure food, pure milk and pure water, that should be regulated by law. It was felt that people needed to be protected against unsafe and



unsanitary housing conditions just as they needed to be protected against impure food and impure milk. Minimum standards, however, were more rapidly accepted in dealing with food and water than with respect to housing. Reasonable standards have been accepted in the control of communicable diseases; certain standards of safety and sanitation have come to be generally accepted in factories; but there has been a slowness on the part of the public to accept housing standards.

Various reasons have been given for this situation. There has been a fear of condemning a large number of unsanitary and unsafe houses because the people who lived in these houses would not have any other place to go. In other words, while officials deplored existing conditions, they felt that there was no choice between throwing the people out on the streets and leaving them in unsanitary and unsafe houses.

#### LARGE PROPERTY INVESTMENT

Another very important reason for the slowness in accepting higher standards in housing has been the large property investment in slum housing. Large sums from some of the biggest estates in the country have been invested in slum housing. It has been a profitable investment. There has been a rather tolerant attitude on the part of the citizens toward the earning of large sums of

money through investments in slum housing. There has been a much more tolerant attitude towards it than towards those big corporations that have earned their money by questionable and unethical practices. This was due to the lack of an organized educational program. There was really no organized educational program to keep the living conditions of the slums constantly before the people.

For many years there has been a general attitude of helplessness in dealing with slum conditions. People somehow or other thought that these conditions were more or less inevitable. They were considered part of the process of growth of American cities. The slums were there always to house the new accessions to the labor market. Through these slums trekked one group of people after the other, representing the various immigration and migration tides. When the first immigrants came in the 40's and 50's, some of the houses in the present slums were new, but they represented very poor and shabby construction. Within a generation the first groups of immigrants had reached out to newer and better quarters in America's expanding cities. Then came the new tide of immigration in the 80's and 90's to fill up the houses that had been vacated by the first immigrants. These again were followed by migrants within the country itself, by the flow of white

and Negro labor from the South to the cities in the North and Middle West. These in turn took over the houses that had been vacated by the second group of immigrants that had moved out to better quarters.

In the meantime very little had been done to repair the houses which had been occupied by one group after another. There was a steady process of deterioration. This is what we now find close to the heart of most American cities, and we find slums not only in the big cities, but also in the smaller cities and in the towns and villages in the heart of our rural communities.

Notwithstanding the great progress that has been made in developing a sense of social responsibility, we still find a great many people, representatives of business and others, who believe that there isn't much that can be done about the slums. They contend that the people who occupy the slums, if given better housing, would soon turn them into new slums. This argument, however, has been disproved and no longer misleads people as it did ten to fifteen years ago.

#### EARLY HOUSING STUDIES

Studies made during the 1930's turned the attention of the American people to certain aspects of slum conditions which heretofore had not been explored. They turned attention to what slums meant in the economic

and social life of American cities. One of the outstanding facts brought to light by these studies was the enormous losses sustained by cities in the operating of slum areas. On the basis of a study made of a certain area in Cleveland, Monsignor Robert B. Navin says:

When we consider that, according to actual figures, the annual operating loss in the section is about eight times its entire real estate tax income and that the inclusion of a few more items would have extended this loss beyond ten times the income, we are justified in concluding that a housing program, which would reduce this loss to any great extent, would be a sound investment. If we add to this consideration the fact that social and moral conditions must inevitably be improved, this investment assumes the aspect of one that pays very satisfactory dividends. The community could well afford to forego all tax income from the section and still call the project profitable.

Monsignor Navin points out that while the area was occupied by 2.5 per cent of the city's population, it was shown to be responsible for 21 per cent of the murders and 8 per cent of the juvenile delinquency, and reported 12 per cent of the tuberculosis deaths in the city.

Those who were interested in American slum conditions before 1930, believed that they could be improved by setting up certain legal standards governing them. Insofar as the objectives of better housing

<sup>1</sup> *Analysis of a Slum Area*, by Robert Bernard Navin, S.T.D., M.A., Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of America, 1934, p. 91.

could not be secured by regulation of existing houses, it was believed to advantage to induce well-disposed citizens of means to invest their capital in housing projects at low rates of interest. Here and there throughout the country model homes were erected by philanthropically-inclined citizens. Laws were passed by a number of states governing what came to be called "Limited Dividend Corporations." The early promoters of legislation governing the regulation of housing conditions and the promotion of Limited Dividend Corporations were still very hopeful of securing their objectives through this type of legislation even in the early 1930's. Many of them, therefore, resisted any further extension of the activities of government in regard to housing. They believed that the methods they proposed should be given a further trial, even though they had previously failed to assure decent housing for families in the lowest income third.

Another effort to secure better housing was represented by the Emergency Rent Laws passed by the New York Legislature in 1920. This not only provided rent regulation, but also tax exemption for new homes during the following four years. The tax exemption feature might have been much more useful if it had included provisions designed to secure homes for families in the middle and low income groups. Instead of this, it had its share in the large specula-

tive boom in the building of homes for the upper third of the population during the decade of the 20's.

In the past fifteen years there has been a growing recognition of the right of the individual and the family to decent housing standards as an essential part of the accepted standard of life. It has come to be recognized more and more that the individual and the members of the family cannot live as human beings without decent housing. The ideal thing, of course, is that the individual should be able to secure decent housing for himself and his family through his own efforts, but we know very well that a large group, possibly one-third of the population, on the basis of housing costs in the past, cannot secure decent housing, even when there is legislation guaranteeing certain minimum wage standards. Families in the lowest income third cannot secure decent housing unaided any more than they can, without government help, secure proper protection against the hazards of industrial accidents, old age, unemployment and illness.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT

Government has made special provision for the victims of industrial accidents through workmen's compensation laws. It has set up a system of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance to provide for wage earners during their last years, and also to protect their dependents against the

hazard of premature death of the chief breadwinner of the family. It has set up a system of unemployment compensation to protect workers against temporary unemployment. It has long recognized its responsibility in many fields to protect the health, safety and welfare of its people. This responsibility must include assistance in providing housing for those who cannot otherwise obtain decent, safe and sanitary homes.

Since it is now clear, beyond a reasonable doubt, that nearly one-third of the people cannot otherwise secure decent housing, government clearly has the obligation to take the necessary steps to provide decent housing for them. This does not mean that government should undertake the entire responsibility. It should merely go as far as is necessary to secure decent housing for these families at a price they can afford to pay. When there is a discrepancy between the price they can pay and the amount necessary to secure decent housing, government should make up the difference.

When we think about the social responsibility of government for housing, we think not merely about providing housing for the individual; we think basically about the family. We also think of a program that will meet the needs of larger families, with enough room to provide for the children with adequate privacy. The family forms the first natural social

group in which people live. A decent home is vital in developing the environment in which children can grow with strong bodies and sound character.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT IN SLUM CLEARANCE

It is rather generally recognized that government should take a hand in the clearing of slum areas of American cities. In his testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency holding hearings on the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, S. 1592, on December 5, 1945, Mr. Newton C. Farr, representing the National Association of Real Estate Boards, said:

It is my belief that this program of land assembly . . . is primarily a local problem. I think that local communities, however, should have all the aid they can get from their State Government, and also from the Federal Government. I am happy about the provisions of your slum clearance Title which provides supplementary money from the Federal Government to augment that of local communities in doing this job.

What Mr. Farr meant was that the Federal Government should aid local communities in clearing slums and then make the land available to private builders. "One of the difficulties," Mr. Farr went on to say, "of building on land in slum areas under private capital is the high cost of land assembly. You hit on one of the sore points there. That is, in

spite of efforts to clear land at low cost, where you have to go in and buy land that already has buildings on it you have to pay for these buildings if they are to be wrecked."

While many private realtors who favor Federal aid for slum clearance want the cleared land made available only to private builders, this would be unsound and unjust as public housing must be built for the families of low income who are displaced by slum clearance programs.

#### HANDED-DOWN HOUSES ARE NOT THE ANSWER

In answer to questions as to what he would propose to do with families that had been compelled to move out of the slums, Mr. Farr answered that if a larger volume of new construction is encouraged, then there will be more existing buildings available for the lower income groups. This witness is fairly representative of the attitude of the opponents of any large low-rent housing program for the lowest third of the population today. They say: Build houses in large volume and there will be enough for all; those that move out of the lower priced houses, will make room for those who cannot pay high rents. In other words, they contend that there is a sufficient supply of old housing available for those who cannot pay the rents that private builders are compelled to charge for new houses. But the fact is that the only existing

housing that is being handed down to the lowest income group in this fashion, is housing that is so deteriorated that it is slum housing. If it were good, decent housing, the rents would not be low enough for these low-income families.

The only way the lowest income third can get housing that is decent, safe and sanitary, is through public low-rent housing built by the communities with the assistance of the Federal Government under the United States Housing Act. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill provides for the continuation of that program.

Private capital, no matter how implemented, cannot provide decent housing for a very large section of the population at a price that it can afford to pay. According to the census of 1940 there were about eight and one-half million families with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year in the United States. These are the families for which private capital has no hope of providing housing. It cannot reach these families who cannot pay more than \$20 a month rent on an over-all national average, and in many communities private capital cannot provide housing for families with incomes up to \$1,500 or \$1,800 a year who cannot pay more than \$25 or \$30 a month for rent.

Since 1931 we have had the beginnings of a large national movement for the development of public low-rent housing for the lowest income

groups. Those who pioneered in this movement were fully convinced that the cities had to undertake this work as a part of their public responsibility. They envisioned a program that would be as far removed as possible from politics. They thought about it as something whose policies should be determined by educators, the clergy, labor and civic workers.

The movement really began with a sub-committee on housing of the City Affairs Committee of New York City in 1931. In the following year the group that made up this subcommittee organized the National Public Housing Conference. As soon as it was organized, the Housing Conference set out to secure enabling legislation for the setting up of municipal housing authorities in various cities in the United States. The first bill was introduced in New York State and was prepared by Mr. Louis H. Pink, a member of the New York State Board of Housing. It provided for a special housing corporation in each city modeled after the Port of New York Authority. It was intended that housing should be in the hands of the local community rather than the State. This bill failed in the New York Assembly in early 1933 but it was passed in January, 1934. A similar bill sponsored by the Cleveland Slum Clearance Committee was introduced and passed in the Ohio Legislature in August, 1933. At the end of 1934, a Model

Housing Authority Bill was submitted to the governors of all States. Within the next two years twenty-seven States passed enabling legislation for the setting up of Housing Authorities.

#### FEDERAL EMERGENCY PROGRAM

In the meantime, in June 1933, Congress passed the National Recovery Act which among other things provided Federal funds for a program of slum clearance and low-cost housing projects. In order to administer this program an Emergency Housing Division was set up in the Public Works Administration. This division first concentrated on loans to Limited Dividend Corporations for low-cost housing, but during a period of six months only seven limited dividend projects received final approval. It was then decided that direct Federal action would be necessary and the Housing Division was revamped with this in mind. It set out to undertake a Federal demonstration program of slum clearance and low-rent housing. A total of 51 projects was built in 35 cities. These proved to be of great benefit to the communities not only in providing low-rent housing, but also in relieving unemployment.

In September, 1937, the Congress passed the United States Housing Act which commits the Federal Government to assist in developing a locally controlled, public low-rent hous-

ing program. This Act authorizes the Federal Government to make loans and annual contributions to local communities for slum clearance and low-rent housing for families that cannot be served by private enterprise. It is the intent of the Act that the United States Housing Authority (now Federal Public Housing Authority), which is charged with its administration, should limit its activities to financial aid and technical assistance. The actual construction and operation of the projects is to be in the hands of local public Housing Authorities set up by State law. To date forty States have enacted laws providing for low-rent housing projects by local Housing Authorities.

Since the Act was passed a total of 448 Housing Authorities have been set up in as many cities in the United States. There are 14 local Housing Authorities in cities of over 500,000; 63 Housing Authorities in cities of 100,000 to 500,000; 59 Housing Authorities in cities between 50,000 and 100,000; 198 Housing Authorities in cities from 10,000 to 50,000 and 114 Housing Authorities in cities under 10,000.

With the aid of the U. S. Housing Authority these local Housing Authorities have undertaken the construction of 194,000 housing units, most of which are now completed. This is an important development, but it is very far indeed from meeting the whole need. Without new

legislation, no Federal moneys are available to assist the communities to build more projects.

Under the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, provision will be made for the building of 500,000 new low-rent housing units in the next four years, at the rate of 125,000 units a year. If the 125,000 units should prove inadequate, the President has been given the necessary authority to accelerate the program.

Under the program provided by the U. S. Housing Act, the local Housing Authority proceeds to make its own study of local housing needs. It plans projects only for those families who are living under substandard conditions, and whose income is so low that private capital cannot provide adequate housing for them.

If the project is approved by the Federal Public Housing Authority, the local Authority can secure a Federal loan for the development of the new houses. At least 10 per cent of the development cost must, however, be raised from private sources. As a matter of fact 36 per cent of the total funds necessary for the financing of the local projects have been secured from private sources through the sale of bonds by the local authorities. There is a very definite tendency towards greater local responsibility for the advancing of loans for the construction of public housing. In fact, it is believed that with certain financing amendments to the Act it



would be possible to secure all the necessary funds from private sources. Such amendments are contained in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill.

After the project is completed, the local authorities select the tenants. They are obliged to select only those who cannot pay the rents of private housing. When the wages or salaries of tenants reach a point at which they are able to pay private rents for decent housing, they are requested to secure quarters elsewhere. Under the law, the projects are intended solely for people of low income. During the war, by reason of housing shortages, it has not been possible to remove all tenants whose wages or salaries reached the point at which they could normally obtain decent private housing. This temporary situation is being corrected as soon as conditions permit through the relieving of present housing shortages by additional home construction.

In order to help meet the cost of operating a low-rent project (including management costs, debt service, maintenance and repair) the Federal Government makes an annual contribution to the local Authority to meet the difference between the rents the tenants can afford to pay, and the rents that would be necessary to pay the total cost of operating the project. The largest part of this cost of operating the project is met by the rent payments of the tenants. Another part of the cost is paid by the local com-

munity, generally by way of tax exemption, since the United States Housing Act requires that the community contribute at least 20 per cent of the Federal contribution. In 1944, for example, the Federal subsidy covered 20 per cent of the total cost of operating the housing, the local contribution covered 15 per cent, and tenants' rents paid for the remaining 65 per cent.

In order to relieve the local communities tax burden, local Housing Authorities make annual payments in lieu of taxes, up to 10 per cent of the shelter rent payments they receive from their tenants. These payments are in many cases higher than the taxes formerly collected on the slum property.

Units may not cost more than \$5,000 in large cities, or \$4,000 in smaller cities. Costs per room must not exceed \$1,250 in larger cities and \$1,000 in smaller cities. The United States Housing Act also requires that for each new dwelling unit built, one slum unit must be eliminated in the locality.

#### CONTINUATION OF LOW-RENT HOUSING UNDER THE WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT BILL

Under the present United States Housing Act, the Congress has made available \$28,000,000 a year for annual contributions to low-rent projects. All these moneys have been committed.



The General Housing Bill, S. 1592, will help the communities to continue building low-rent housing projects by authorizing an additional program of \$22,000,000 in subsidies for the first year, and further \$22,000,000 a year for the following three years, so that at the end of the fourth year after the bill becomes law a total of \$88,000,000 would be available for annual contributions.

This program which will provide 125,000 housing units a year for four years is very moderate in view of the great housing need of low-income families. The minimum estimated need for housing the lowest income groups would be 360,000 units a year. Larger authorizations should be made available, either in this bill or in later legislation.

The bill would make the Federal Public Housing Authority a part of an overall National Housing Agency. This was done on a temporary basis during the war, but it is believed that the time has come to make public housing permanently a part of the larger national housing program. This larger national housing program includes the redevelopment of large slum areas which may be used for public housing or sold or leased to private builders for private housing. It includes government stimulation of private enterprise so that it may be able to reach the middle income groups for which public housing is not designed. The comprehensive na-

tional housing program also includes the home financing aids provided by the Federal Home Loan Bank System and the Federal Housing Administration.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill is a comprehensive housing bill designed to improve the entire national housing program and to coordinate it in one overall agency. The bill stimulates the production of housing for all groups that have not been adequately served in the past. It will enable middle income families who have not heretofore had good housing, to own or rent decent homes produced by private enterprise; it initiates a program of Federal aid to cities for slum clearance and the preparation of cleared areas for re-development; and it expands the program for housing the low income groups.

Public low-rent housing is in no way competitive with private enterprise. Private enterprise today is not coming anywhere within the reach of the lowest third of the population. The best that can be expected of private enterprise is that with the new implements provided by the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill it may be able to reach the lower segments of the middle income groups, which it has previously neglected.

In addition to making more funds available for Federal assistance to local housing authorities, the bill improves the low-rent housing programs:

(1) By requiring that the City Council or other local governing body approve low-rent projects.

(2) By strengthening the requirements insuring that public low-rent housing is in no way in competition with private enterprise.

(3) By providing a preference for discharged service men, if they apply within four years after their discharge. A similar preference is given to families of service men, including widows and children of service men who died in the service. It is assumed, of course, that these families will be able to meet the income specifications provided by the law. In other words, as far as income is concerned, they must belong to the group whose members cannot pay the rents that private capital is compelled to charge.

(4) By removing some of the practical problems that have arisen under the present cost limitations of the United States Housing Act. For example, it eliminates the limitations on the cost per dwelling unit, but retains the limitation of \$1,000 per room, or \$1,250 per room in larger cities. This is a very important change because it will enable the local authorities to provide more housing for larger families. Under the unit cost limitations the local authorities have not been able to provide as many three- and four-bedroom units as the larger families of low income in the community needed. They have never

been able to construct any five- or six-bedroom units for the very large families. This bill will remove this shortcoming of the present program.

(5) By including amendments which are expected to make it possible for private capital to undertake 100 per cent of the financing of the development of projects.

(6) By authorizing a program for the rehabilitation of existing buildings by local authorities to make them available for low-income families. Something can be done to provide housing for low-income groups through the rehabilitation of existing dwellings. There is a great danger, however, of over-emphasizing what can be accomplished in this way. Since the cost of operating rehabilitated dwellings is high, this program should be undertaken only where remodeling and reconstruction will prevent the spread of blight in an entire neighborhood. The bill wisely limits the rehabilitation program to such situations, and requires that rehabilitated buildings meet sound standards of housing.

(7) By making the benefits of decent housing available for rural families of low income living on farms or in small rural communities.

(8) By making it possible for the local communities to acquire some of the permanent war housing constructed by the Federal Government without having to secure congressional approval in each instance, and

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make this housing available to low-income families.

#### PROGRESS MADE BY LOCAL HOUSING PROJECTS

Anybody who has observed the projects sponsored by the local Housing Authorities all over the country, cannot fail to be impressed by the great gains that have been made. One of the gains most frequently mentioned by local leaders is that the experience of living on the project has helped prepare the tenants for home ownership. Pastors point to a considerable number of families in their parishes who have left the projects in order to buy their own homes. When we say that the program has prepared people for home ownership, we mean that not only have they secured higher incomes, but they have improved their standard of life.

The projects have made over whole areas of American cities. Think of what has happened in South Boston. It is practically a new city. Most of the people who lived in its slums now live in new homes. They generally have a better outlook on life. There has been a reduction of juvenile delinquency; health conditions are better; there is a normal family life of a more wholesome character. The same is true of Roxbury, Massachusetts. One recognizes the great improvement that has taken place in the standards of life and well being of large numbers of people in certain

sections of New Orleans. The same is true of Cleveland, New York, Buffalo, Cincinnati, San Antonio, Savannah, and the many other cities with which the writer of this brochure is acquainted. He has had occasion to visit projects in nearly one hundred cities in the United States. He has had a chance of talking at length with the tenants in these projects, of attending their meetings, and discussing their problems with them. He could not fail to be impressed by the improvement that had taken place in their standards of life and in their whole attitude. This point of view was borne out by his conferences with local pastors in many cities in the United States.

Management of these housing projects is a new field. It is a field for which special preparation is needed. It is not merely a business operation. Project managers must have some business training; they must also have some training in social welfare and social leadership. Thought must be given to the extent to which social programs must be developed within the projects themselves. The writer believes that a social program is called for, because of the many social problems presented by the families. It is clear that the meeting of the problems calls for the close cooperation between the project management, local churches and local social agencies.

It is not assumed for a moment that the public-housing program is a

panacea for all the ills of life, that it has solved all the problems of family life; all the problems of juvenile delinquency; all the health and recreational problems. The best one can contend is that it has made definite advances and that it has brought out into the open many problems that present a serious challenge to the Church, to government and to public and voluntary social agencies. In assessing the problems presented by families in the housing projects, one has to keep in mind the sordid conditions of squalor and filth under which they lived for so many years. While nothing short of a miracle could make

all these families over in a short period of time, the rate of improvement has been great and gratifying. Those who have been interested in the housing program may well take pride in the progress that has been made.

This progress must continue. The benefits of decent housing must be brought to many more of the low-income families who unfortunately still live in the slums. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill assures that local housing authorities can build more projects to take more families out of the slums and house them in dwellings that live up to standards befitting Americans.



### *Communion and the Mass*

Ideally the Sacrifice and the Communion of the Mass are inseparable. Communion is not simply an individual, isolated affair that concerns only ourselves, and which we perform to satisfy our private devotion. Communion is really our active participation in the Sacrifice of Christ. Communion is our completion of the Sacrifice. Communion is the fruit and effect of the Sacrifice. And that is why it is so desirable that we receive Communion whenever we assist at Mass, and after the Sacrifice has been offered. To participate fully in the effects of Communion, we must live this entire Eucharistic mystery with Christ on Calvary. That means our soul is then stripped of self and is reclad with Christ. Then the Body of Christ will be for us truly the Sacrament of the Spirit—the Sacrament of love and unity.—*Charles E. Matthews in The BARCLAY STREET NEWS, New York, N. Y., June, 1947.*

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# *The Christians of Lebanon*

DR. HABIB J. AWAD

*Address delivered at the Middle East Conference, New York University, June 5-6, 1947*

THE Phoenician Libanus extends from Alexandretta, north; Mediterranean Sea, west; Palestine, south; and Syria, east.

In Lebanon, the culture of the Northern Hittites met with the cultures of Egypt, Babylon and Syria, and here the cultures of Greece and Rome encountered various oriental influences and traditions. Here East and West merge.

From ancient times until the present, the social and political character of the inhabitants of the Lebanon has been preserved thanks to the natural qualities of the mountain terrain. Not only has the Lebanon enabled various communities and sects to escape the dangers of assimilation and preserve their traditional and spiritual qualities for generations, but at periods of emergency, it also served as a refuge for various population groups coming from elsewhere. The desire of the Sunnite majority in the Middle East to assimilate all minorities encouraged the latter to migrate from the valleys and lowlands to mountain areas which might lend themselves to convenient defense. It is only through a combination of natural, social and political factors that the history of The Lebanon and its past

and future problems can be understood.

## ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIANS IN LEBANON AND SYRIA

As descendants of the Phoenicians and of the Arameans, the ancestors of the Middle East Christians lived in the Lebanon and in Syria long before Christianity.

At the time of Christ they spoke Aramaic, Greek and Latin. This went on until the seventh century, when the Arabic invasion swept the land. Since that time the Arabic language penetrated slowly into Syria and still more slowly into Lebanon, where it definitely took root only in the eighteenth century. The mother tongue of the population of these countries was basically Aramaic. This language is still preserved in the Syro-Aramaic churches — Maronites, Syrians, Chaldeans—and it has left obvious traces which are to be found in most of the place names and in the various pronunciations of colloquial Arabic.

There exist today in a hollow in Syria certain villages: Maalula, Ain El-Tineh and others, where the Syro-Aramaic language is still spoken both by Christians and Moslems.

Lebanon, honored by Christ with several visits, was, with Syria, the first country to receive the teaching of the Apostles. It was at Baniyas (Caesarea Philippi), on the outskirts of three countries—Lebanon, Syria, Palestine—that Christ said to Simon: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church."

Those words were uttered in Aramaic, the mother tongue of the Eastern Christians, which Christ, God and Man, used throughout His earthly life and in which the first Gospel was written (St. Matthew).

It was at Damascus that the Apostle Paul was initiated into Christianity, and at Antioch that the first Bishopric of Christianity was founded by St. Peter.

The shores of Lebanon do not keep as clear a remembrance of the Phoenician triremes as of the humble boats which sailed westward with the first Apostles who conveyed the good news which transformed the world. As in the past, the average Lebanese today speaks several languages.

#### LEBANON—THE ONLY REMAINING COUNTRY OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER IN ALL ASIA

The Moslem storm which swept from the center of Arabia to the very gates of Vienna and Poitiers, submerging whole countries, was unable to put out the flame of Christianity in that hearth where its founder had kindled it.

Lebanon, whose Bishops go back in an uninterrupted line to the first Apostles, lived on as a Christian country in an ocean of Mohammedanism and paganism.

With the disappearance of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Edessa, Lebanon remains the only center of Christian culture that links Christianity through the centuries to its origin.

Today, the Lebanon is the only remaining country of Christian character in Asia.

The population of Lebanon today consists of different communities. The Maronites, the Druzes, the Shiite Moslems, the Sunnite Moslems, the Melkites, the Jacobites, the Syriacs, the Chaldeans, the Greek Orthodox, the Armenians, the Protestants, the Kurds, the Assyrians, the Jews and other minorities live today in complete harmony among each other and they are all equally interested in preserving the independence of Lebanon. For them an independent Lebanon provides a useful and positive system of checks and balances which prevents any domination of one community by the other under the present ratio of forces dependent upon each other.

The most authoritative voices of the Arab World never miss an opportunity to proclaim that the ultimate purpose of the Arab movement throughout the Middle East is the supremacy of Mohammedanism. The

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present state of affairs shows that Arab countries preserve Mohammedanism as the official State Religion. Such is the case with Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, etc. In the Moslem countries (that is to say in all the self-styled "Arab countries" with the exception of Lebanon), the treatment of citizens is even today based on discrimination between Moslems and non-Moslems. There is no prospect of any fundamental change in this regard in the foreseeable future.

#### THE ARAB LEAGUE

The constitution of the Arab League is taken from the constitution of the Germanic States union. The protocol of the Arab League forbids each Arab state member to have foreign, economic or political treaties with other nations unless it gets the consent of the Arab League. Transjordan, Iraq and Egypt are tied by treaties with England. These treaties clearly state that none of the parties should take a stand in its foreign relations which creates difficulties for the others. This means that Lebanon, which is still free from treaties with England, by the fact that it became a member of the Arab League, is already tied, indirectly, by the Anglo-Iraqi-Egyptian and Transjordanian treaties, since no member of the Arab League could take a stand in its foreign relations which may create difficulties for the other Arab States

which are members of the League.

The Arab League recommends economic unity. German history teaches us that German unity began first with economic unity between Prussia and the other Germanic States. This economic unity led finally to a complete Germanic union. Unfortunately, economic unity has taken place between Syria and Lebanon by an act of the Lebanese Parliament, February 3, 1944, to the detriment of the economic life of Lebanon.

Sadallah Bey Al-Jabri, Prime Minister of Syria, declared in the Syrian Parliament upon his return from the Arab League convention that the psychological aim of the Arab League is to form an Arab unity. The first step is to unite Greater Syria, namely Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, and Palestine. (The newspaper *Al-Akhbar*, Damascus, October 16, 1944.)

The Lebanese delegates have agreed to such a step by signing the protocol of Alexandria (Cf. Study of the Protocol of the Arab League at Alexandria, 1944, by His Excellency, Joseph Assouda, Lebanese Minister to Brazil.) It is a matter of record, too, that the Maronite Patriarch has repeatedly protested to the present Lebanese Government against its present policy of aid to Pan-Arabism to the detriment of Lebanese interests.

The Maronite Patriarchate is the heart and brain of Lebanon. For the last thirteen centuries, the Lebanese



placed their confidence in it. The Maronite Patriarch is the spokesman of the Lebanese people. A religious leader, he is also the protector of Christianity and of the independence of Lebanon. All the oppressed minorities of the Middle East have sought protection and refuge under his flag.

The immortal Cedars of Lebanon symbolize by their tenacity and magnitude the Maronite Patriarchate.

#### THE PRESENT STATUS OF LEBANON

Lebanon is now an independent republic. Its independence has been recognized by the United Nations. However, there are many forces which threaten it.

1. The British are thought to be encouraging the Arabs to form a greater Syria including Lebanon under a British sphere of influence.

I am in possession of a copy of a memorandum addressed by Sadallah Bey Al-Jabri to General Spears in which the Syrian Premier promises the British General assistance on account of the aid rendered by the British to the fulfillment of Syrian aspirations.

2. The Russians are trying to offset the British control of the Middle East by inserting themselves there and by forming their own sphere of influence and control.

3. We read in the *Weekly Egyptian Magazine* and other Arabic newspapers continuous declarations by Syrian leaders, combined with

those of the Arab League, calling for formation of a Greater Syria and thus threatening the independence of Lebanon.

4. King Abdallah of Transjordan has repeatedly declared his wish to sit on the throne of Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan.

5. In his study of the protocol of the Arab League, 1944, His Excellency Joseph Assouda, tells us that the Middle East Physicians Convention at Beirut discussed Arab unity more than it discussed medicine. And the Lawyers Convention at Damascus was simply Arab propaganda for unity.

6. There are forces within Lebanon now working to unite it to Syria such as the Syrian National Party of Lebanon whose leader is Antoun Saadi.

The Lebanese would like certainly to cooperate with neighboring states. But independence is an essential foundation for them.

By asking for guaranteed independence, the Lebanese show no antipathy either to western or eastern powers. They simply want their independence made safe. A guarantee does not lessen independence; it is not a mandate or a protectorate. It consists of formal treaties with major powers which will never permit Lebanon to lose its independence despite the inside and outside forces working against it. It makes of the

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Lebanon a national home and a safe refuge and shelter to the Christians and all minorities of the Middle East. The Lebanon has always been a center of Christianity in the Middle East, but as far back at the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, A.D., the Christians were persecuted successively by the Moslem-Arabs, the Omayyads, the Abbasids and the Fatimites. This persecution ceased for a time during the Crusades. It was subsequently resumed with greater violence under the Ayyubites and the Mamelukes.

Following the massacre of Christians in the Lebanon in 1860, the great powers found it necessary to guarantee the autonomy of the Lebanon in order to safeguard the rights of its Christian inhabitants. It is the view of Christian leaders in the Lebanon as well as that of the chiefs of the non-Christian minorities there, that a guarantee is still necessary today. They, the sovereign people of Lebanon, as sovereign, are asking for guaranteed independence and free elections.

From reports of the recently concluded election in Lebanon, it is apparent that fifty percent of the people did not go to the polls. They did not vote because of fear—fear of the very forces I have cited earlier. According to the New York Arabic newspaper, *Al-Hoda*, of May 28 and June 2, 1947, the students at Beirut's universities and schools staged a

demonstration before parliamentary elections against the present government and asked the Lebanese President to appoint a provisional Government to supervise free and fair elections. Their demonstration was crushed and a few were wounded.

After the election many Lebanese demonstrated against the way the present Government had treated them. The leader of the Druzes, Kamal Bey Janblat, resigned his post as Minister in protest against unjust elections. London, broadcasting in Arabic, said that the Lebanese Government requested Archbishop Ignatius Mubarak of Beirut to leave the country because of his protest against the election. The Maronite Patriarch promised the demonstrators that he would demand new elections.

The *Al-Hoda* further reports the Paris *Figaro* as saying that: "In many Lebanese districts the registered voters were two thousand and the counted votes were twenty thousand. This certainly will not aid Lebanon much in its independence, especially while there is a movement within Lebanon whose aim is to annex it to greater Syria."

Editors of all the leading dailies except the President's own organ, *Le Jour*, in a joint letter to President Bechara el-Khoury, said the present National Assembly "discredits the State," announced they would no longer cover its sessions and urged its dissolution.

In view of all these circumstances—historical and current—unless the independence of the Lebanon is guaranteed, there is a very strong fear that in the near future it may lose its independence, be forced into a merger with Syria and thus lose its Christian character.

The United Nations have acknowledged the independence of Lebanon, but they could never stop a Lebanese Government or Parliament being forced or enticed by threats or promises to unite with Syria and thus expose its inhabitants to age-old distress and sufferings.

Such an experience happened after World War I, when members of the Lebanese Parliament went over to Syria to give Lebanon to the late King Feisal, then King of Syria, but they were stopped in time by General Gouraud and sent into exile.

#### THE CONVENTION OF BEKERKE, LEBANON

Matters have reached such a stage in Lebanon that the various Christian communities and also some of the Moslems of the minority groups have found it necessary to get together in order to oppose a Pan-Arabic line of policy.

On May 19, 1945, the Christian Ecclesiastical leaders of the Lebanon—Armenians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Melkites and Maronites—met under the leadership of the Maronite Patriarch Antoine Peter Arida at his residence at Bekerke, Lebanon, and

adopted the following resolutions:

1. The independence of Lebanon in complete sovereignty.

2. True cooperation with neighboring states.

3. Friendly relations with the Allied countries which acknowledged the independence of Lebanon and its sovereignty and a French guarantee of the independence of Lebanon together with the other United Nations.

4. The keeping of peace among all the various national sects of Lebanon.

5. Cooperation with the Lebanese Government in all affairs which further the development of Lebanon.

6. Formation of a treaty with France for the mutual benefit of both countries.

The members of the convention asked his Beatitude Patriarch Arida to do all in his power to ascertain the realization of the six adopted resolutions.

This document was signed by Cardinals and Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Superior Generals of all the Catholics of Lebanon and the Middle East.

#### MY MISSION IN BEHALF OF LEBANON

Left to its own resources, the inhabitants of Lebanon are in no position to defend their independence and to successfully oppose the manipulations of the Arab League and the various Arab States, who are determined to swallow the Lebanon in a Pan-Arabic Middle East. Conse-

quently, the leaders of Christian Lebanon have time and again attempted to convey to the Western world the true state of affairs in Lebanon. The Maronite Patriarch has sent several delegates to Europe and the United States on such missions. I had the honor of being one of these delegates. In November, 1945, lay and ecclesiastical leaders of Lebanon—Catholics of all rites, Greek Orthodox, Protestants and chiefs of Shiites (Moslem minorities in Lebanon)—charged me with a special mission to the Holy Father and to the President, Government and people of the United States of America. I carried official letters from all these leaders asking the Holy Father, President and Government of the United States to use their influence to effect the independence of Lebanon, with freedom of elections for all, under a United Nations guarantee, with America and France charged actively with this guarantee in order to safeguard the independence of Lebanon. I honestly recommend also that the British, the Russians and all Arab States guarantee the independence of Lebanon in order to show their good will and relieve the Lebanese of their anxiety.

On November 30, 1945, I was honored with an audience with the Holy Father. I presented my documents to His Holiness and discussed the situation thoroughly. His Holiness gave me his moral support.

I also presented my documents to the White House, discussed the matter with the Department of State and presented my report. I was officially informed that due note has been taken of its contents.

There is now an active movement to add American Jesuit branches of learning to the University of St. Joseph at Beirut. The university's staff of French and Lebanese origin are inviting the collaboration of American Jesuits to teach English and technical sciences now essential in Middle-East economic life.

Thus a Franco-Lebanese-American cooperation will safeguard the independence of the Lebanon and the right of its inhabitants to live under a sky which reflects their soul and to rest their ashes in a land free from bondage, immortal in their liberties as in their cedar trees.

I should like to stress to my listeners that though I have spoken calmly and with perhaps an academic detachment, the threats to Lebanese independence are very real; that a tragedy affecting not only the Christians and other minorities of the Middle East, but free people everywhere, may be in the making, if those of us who support freedom and independence do not awake to the importance of the problems before us. An independent Lebanon serves as an anchor of freedom in the Middle East. To maintain and to guarantee its independence is a duty for Christians everywhere.

## THE EDITORIAL MIND

### *Too Much Drinking*

**B**OTH in quantity and cost, the year 1946 saw the consumption of intoxicants in this country reach the highest totals in its history, according to Commerce Department figures issued last week. More than five billion dollars was spent for whisky and other distilled spirits; more than three billion dollars for beer, and nearly 700 million dollars for wine. In quantity there was an increase over the previous year of one-fifth in whisky and one-half in wine, while beer showed a slight decrease in amount due to the temporary shortage of grain.

These figures sound a deafening confirmation of what ordinary observation reveals: that we are fast becoming an alcohol-sodden nation, that the cause of temperance and self-restraint is being relentlessly thrown back by the avarice of the liquor industry preying on human weakness, and that the economic harm done to society by that industry calls for control no less than does the physical, mental and moral damage it inflicts. Here is a nation which cannot find funds to properly support its educational system on which it depends for

the proper training of its future citizens, while the vast sum of nearly nine billion dollars is spent on alcoholic indulgence, wasteful at best and in a frightening measure responsible for crime and debasement. Which of the nation's major problems is not reflected in this mounting alcoholism expense: juvenile delinquency, divorce, ruined homes, all the sordid immoralities that make the day's news so depressing? Yet the nation continues to pay more and more for the products causing it more and more distress.

Incredible as it seems, this agency of destruction is encouraged to extend its destructiveness by the very sections of the nation that should be most concerned about it. Modification of existing laws and lax enforcement of them have given us taverns, night clubs and "restaurants" that are far worse than the much-condemned saloon ever was; respectable magazines and papers carry advertisements for intoxicants that are a plain invitation to the young to start drinking and to those who are victims of the habit to sink themselves further into it. Women in the tap-rooms and liquor in the homes show how far the

industry has succeeded in breaking down all restraints; and the country's last year liquor bill is only an echo of the deeper cost of this conquest.—  
**THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 8, 1947.**

### October Devotions

**P**OPE LEO XIII personally instituted the practice of devoting the entire month of October to the Holy Rosary. On the 1st of September, 1883, he issued an Encyclical in which he admonished the faithful to dedicate October to the Queen of the Rosary. His expressed purpose was the obtaining, through Mary's gracious intercession, of God's consolation and defense of the Church in her sufferings.

Today, even more than in the days of Pope Leo, the Church is persecuted. The trials that she is undergoing are beyond mere verbal attacks of criticism, misrepresentation and slander. In various parts of the world, her children are being subjected to actual physical persecution. Priests and prelates guilty of no crime save devotion to the Faith, are being forced before arbitrary tribunals and condemned to death. Even torture is not unknown. The Church, suffering these assaults, needs Mary's intercession more than ever.

It is for us, the children of the Church who are fortunate enough to be situated in a land where religious

freedom is not a mockery, where priests and bishops are not brought to trial on specious pretexts, to obtain that intercession. The October Devotions are, therefore, not merely routine practice. They are as necessary as Leo XIII saw them to be, for the life of the Church. And there is a solemn obligation on us to practice them.

The Rosary, which is honored in October, is a simple devotion, capable of being followed by the most illiterate and unlearned. It is also a deep devotion, worthy of earnest meditation by the most learned and holy. In times past, through its earnest saying by vast numbers of the faithful, miracles have taken place. Perhaps, if we are earnest and devoted enough to it, in these days other miracles will take place and the Church will be rescued from the dangers which threaten her throughout the world.—**THE CATHOLIC TRANSCRIPT, Hartford, Conn., Oct. 10, 1946.**

### Protection of Human Rights

**I**F THE protection of human rights came to be regarded as among the prime purposes of the United Nations, the whole moral tone of that body might be transformed, declares the British Catholic author and editor John Eppstein, in a booklet, *Defend These Human Rights*, issued by the America Press.

In an analysis of several draft proposals submitted currently to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Eppstein singles out several important human rights usually omitted or neglected. These are: the family, the right of religious education, and the right of religious associations to own property in their own name.

No declaration of human rights means anything, he says, if the material facilities to fulfill one's obligations are not also guaranteed and protected. Pointing in commendation to the special section devoted to the family in the draft issued by a special committee appointed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the writer decries the assumption frequently held that the family, as such, is not the proper concern of human rights.

Dangers to these rights come not only from the "left" but also from the "right," in fact wherever the state gathers more and more power to itself, Mr. Eppstein declares. The politicians of the "right" can do violence to the Church's independence by a compromising patronage. "The Spanish Falange," he remarks, "has many of the most objectionable features of National Socialism, combined with the single party pretensions of fascism."

Mr. Eppstein believes it would be disastrous for the Human Rights Commission to strive for complete agreement with the representatives of

the Soviet Union. "To start with the proposition that any declaration of human rights must necessarily be something which Russian communism can accept is to condemn such a measure to sterility," he declares in the study.

It would be better, he recommends, to set up a general treaty and open it for the signatures of those states which are willing to accept it. And in any event nothing can be achieved without the education of public opinion and the healthy pressure upon government of bodies of opinion inspired by the right principles.—*The SOUTHERN CROSS, San Diego, Calif., June 20, 1947.*

### *Lynching Must Go!*

THE verdict of the Greenville, South Carolina, jury acquitting all twenty-eight white men accused of lynching Willie Earle, a Negro, last February, eliminates the last possible argument against the early enactment of the pending Federal Anti-Lynching Bill.

Southern opponents of Federal Anti-Lynching laws have argued that the states could apprehend, prosecute and punish those implicated in local lynchings. Now, after acquittal of twenty-eight who took part in this most recent mob murder, this objection to an effective Federal law vanishes into thin air. According to the newsmen who covered the recent

trial the charge was ably presented by the prosecutor and complete fairness marked the attitude and rulings of the court. Then, too, it caused local surprise that the alleged confessions of the accused were admitted into the evidence. However, after five hours of deliberation, the local jury returned ninety-eight verdicts of acquittal, freeing all twenty-eight who had been implicated in the lynching.

Editorial comment reflecting the opinion of the press, and the openly expressed views of white and Negro leaders from all parts of the country, indicate that the state courts cannot be relied upon to convict those who are actually guilty of lynching American Negroes. Age-old sectional attitudes which have tolerated lynching-with-impunity have consistently

defeated successful prosecution of local lynchings. Adequate Federal laws are required; Federal courts should be given jurisdiction and Federal prosecutors the authority to enforce the law.

Lynching would be nationally repudiated by the enactment of the pending bill. The early enactment would mark the first step in breaking down the tradition that any American could be lynched-with-impunity; it would do much to enhance the prestige of American democracy throughout the world. Indeed, there is no justification for further delay and there is every reason for the passage of this law by the American Congress.

Lynching Must Go!—*The INTER-RACIAL REVIEW*, New York, N. Y., May, 1947.



### *Theological Solution*

When at the time of the surrender I stated on the USS Missouri that the solution of the world's problems was a theological one, some people thought I was losing my mind, he said. Today I hold to that statement more strongly than ever. Those who criticized me for it have shown that they don't believe either in democracy or Christianity. They have no faith. The world's problems are basically spiritual. Economics, power, politics, collectivism—these are but surface difficulties that come and go. Below these, and at the root of most of our troubles is a lack of religious faith and the sooner we realize this the sooner we will have peace and order.—*General Douglas MacArthur*, as reported by *Calvert Alexander, S.J.*, NC NEWS SERVICE, June 16, 1947.



# The Core of Apologetics

Reprinted from *The SWORD OF THE SPIRIT*\*

THE Catholic Church is by definition a militant institution, committed by its Founder to the indefinite extension of its frontiers. The frontiers are spiritual, as are the means of conquest, but the struggle is real, the life of the Church is a warfare. There is always the opposition, the nature of which has been pithily characterized in Belloc's *Survivals and New Arrivals*:

The curious have remarked that one institution alone for now nineteen hundred years has been attacked not by one opposing principle, but from every conceivable point.

It has been denounced upon all sides and for reasons successively incompatible: it has suffered the contempt, the hatred and the ephemeral triumph of enemies as diverse as the diversity of things could produce . . .

There is no need to develop the point further. But one consequence is clear, namely that the *accent* of Apologetics (which is the intellectual defense of the Church against these external enemies) must be as variable as the forms of attack which it is its business to counter. Thus the tactics of the apologist are perpetually changing, as the ground shifts from Psychology to History, from Biblical Criticism to Ethics. It

must be so; yet there is one great danger involved in these nimble-footed skirmishes. It is, I think, true that variation characterizes mainly the negative and defensive part of the apologist's work. The positive element, the road to total acceptance of the Faith, remains substantially unaltered. And the danger should be recognized that we may become so preoccupied with the business of defense as to lose sight of, or even unconsciously betray, the body of positive thought to which the "tactical operations" are merely subsidiary.

I suggest that the necessary safeguard lies in the simplification of Apologetics, which means we must clearly grasp the essential principle. Reflection should discover it; failing that, experience will drive us to it.

The positive object of Apologetics is to lead people to the Church. *The Church* is the logical center of Apologetics, as it is the ontological center of the Christian life. Once this is seen clearly, vast economies can be effected in time and temper.

Surely far too much trouble is taken by the Catholic who permits himself to be led (often uncomfortably conscious of deficiencies in his mental equipment) into a detailed

\* 68 Gloucester Pl., London, W. 1, England, May, 1945



defense of individual doctrines and practices. For example, I might spend two or three hours attempting to convince a non-Catholic friend that the doctrine and practice of auricular confession is scripturally, historically and psychologically sound. (I might, that is, if the conversation could be kept to the point, which is rarely possible.) At the end of the period, during which I have been necessarily on the defensive, my friend may or may not agree that I am right. But, agreement or not, he is not appreciably nearer to becoming a Catholic, for his mind is already buzzing with difficulties concerning Transubstantiation.

I do not wish to labor the point. The efforts of both debaters have been profitless unless the principle is asserted that *auricular confession is justified only because the Church imposes it*. The core of any such dispute is the authority (true or false) of the Catholic Church.

#### THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH

Until this question of the Church's right to teach infallibly in the name of God is proposed and squarely faced, discussion is futile and exasperating. Once it has been answered, everything else falls into place. Every other argument must be inconclusive, in the sense that it cannot lead to the desired conclusion, which is also the

fulfilment of the apologetic work—namely, the entry of a human being into the fulness of Christian life. Only the living authority of the Church provides the answers to all the questions, a living authority fashioned for the purpose by One who knows all that is to be known of the needs of the human spirit.

It is possible to accept the right things for the wrong reasons. I can conceive a man ready, on diverse intellectual grounds, to maintain firmly almost the entire body of Catholic dogma, yet hold not a single item *because of the authority of the Church*. He possesses considerable portions of the truth, but none of them by rightful possession; and he will probably never come to accept the whole. For he has missed the point.

It may be objected that I have made no attempt to outline the arguments proving the authority of the Church. I am quite willing to do that, if it were necessary, but not here, for the arguments are irrelevant. And it is not necessary, as they have been expounded thousands of times by experts, and in English, more particularly, by Newman. This article has—to use an ambitious word—a single thesis. And that thesis is of vital importance to anyone who aspires to lead his less fortunate fellows into the life of Christ.

# The Catholic Social Program in Principle and Practice

FOR the past six months a group of Catholic employers and employes, economists, jurists, journalists and religious have been gathering at my home to draw up a program of social reorganization on the basis of the teachings of the Church. The result of these consultations I present herewith to the public, in the hope that it may be thoroughly discussed with a view to the clarification of the great questions of our time and to their solution in accordance with the

*A translation from the German of the pamphlet "Grundsätze katholischer Sozialarbeit und zeitnahe Folgerungen."\* Edited by the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne.*

principles of the natural law and of our holy faith. (Cologne, February 12, 1947.)

\* JOSEPH CARDINAL FRINGS  
*Archbishop of Cologne.*

## Catholic Social Principles

The Church is the divinely appointed guardian of the truths which derive from natural reason and supernatural revelation. In fulfillment of her teaching function she formulates and develops for the whole world the pattern of human society, changeless in its fundamental design. As promulgator, interpreter and protector of the supernatural moral law the Church "draws from the Gospel those teachings which give order and direction to the entire spiritual life of man."<sup>1</sup> Included in their scope are the State and social economy, as

essential elements of social life and social action.

The cornerstone of the entire social order is reverent acknowledgment of man's personal dignity as image of God.<sup>2</sup> After the spectacular aberrations of Individualism which in overreaching itself has ended up in the horrors of collectivism, we know now, from sad experience, what an unobstructed glance at man as his Creator made him should have enabled us to see at once, that the independent and responsible person is not a creature set off from the commu-

<sup>1</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, para. 41-43; Pius XII, *Pentecost Address*, 1941, para. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Pius XII, *Wartime Radio Messages*, *passim*.

\* Published by J. P. Bachem, Cologne, Germany

nity.<sup>3</sup> By his nature as a being composed of body and soul, and therefore as much because of his spiritual as of his corporal entity, man is a *social* being. He is destined by his Creator to live in society and to find in society his fulfillment. The individual is, therefore, ordained for society, though the community consists only of its individual members, and exists only to enable them to fulfill perfectly the task assigned them by the Creator. The Triune God Himself is the Model and sublimest Exemplar of unity and plurality, of person and society. In Him simplicity of being manifests itself in a Trinity of Persons. Father, Son and Holy Ghost are really subsistent and distinct Persons. But because of the oneness of Their being and the ardor of Their love They form the most marvelous of communities. Between the individual man and society, between the individual welfare and the general welfare, there exists a relation of interdependence. It is right and reasonable that the individual should serve the community and give the requirements of the common good priority over his individual welfare;<sup>4</sup> but only in the measure that service of the community effectively serves the individuals who compose it.<sup>5</sup> For the common welfare is the prere-

quisite for the realization of the genuine well-being of all individuals. The circuit between individual personality and the collectivity begins and ends with the human person.<sup>6</sup>

#### INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

Since human personality is the origin and aim of every society, it is right that all social activity should help and supplement the development of the energies of the individual. But these energies must never be arbitrarily restricted or replaced. Thus the superior and inclusive forms of society should leave to smaller and simpler groups such enterprises as the latter may successfully handle on their own responsibility. (*Principles of subsidiary, principle of supplementary aid*).<sup>7</sup>

Since man is *naturally* a social being, ordained to the community as reciprocally the community is linked to him, it follows that each member of the community shares responsibility for the whole, and the community as a whole is responsible for the well-being of each of its members (*Principle of solidarity, principle of reciprocal dependence and responsibility*).<sup>8</sup>

The total activity of societies consists in the organized joint action of their members in pursuit of the social

<sup>3</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, para. 105-9.

<sup>4</sup> Pius XII, *Christmas Message* 1942, no. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Pius XII, *Pentecost Address* 1941, para. 16-18.

<sup>6</sup> Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, para. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, para. 79-80; Pius XII, *Allocution*, February 20, 1945, para. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Pius XII, *March 11, 1945*, to the Association of Workers, par. 17.

objective or social values. This organized common action of intelligent and free personalities cannot be effected except by direction and subordination. Because all have a common stake in the general welfare, some must have power to command and others the duty to obey, according to the position they occupy in society. The ultimate basis of all power to direct, and of every duty to obey, lies in God's design for the world and in His sovereign authority. But more proximately social authority and social obligation are grounded in the requirements of the general welfare (*necessitas boni communis*). Social authority is a direct postulate of the common welfare, which by the same token determines its scope and circumscribes its inviolable limits.<sup>9</sup>

#### SPECIAL SITUATIONS OF FAMILY AND CHURCH

There is a further special directive authority adapted to only two social forms, the family within the natural order and the Church for the supernatural order: the authority of parents over the child they have brought into the world, and the hierarchical authority of the Church, which is none other than the authority of Jesus Christ our Redeemer over all whose rebirth by water and the Holy Spirit has made them His members in the Mystical Body of Christ. Basic, therefore, to the proper organization

of human society is recognition of the priority of parental rights on the one hand, and on the other of the rights of Jesus Christ and His Church, over purely social authority.

#### THE STATE

The State is the form of organization in which a people or peoples have combined to form a single unit. Its primary purpose is to guarantee order, and to this end to declare and administer justice. It has the further aim of promoting the prosperity and culture of the people. Only the State makes it possible for the individual, as for the family, to lead an autonomous life. The State must stand as a sovereign unit above all social powers, leaving them, however, within the limits of the common welfare, the independence necessary to fulfill their functions.<sup>10</sup> The powerful State especially is in a position to accord social forces a broad field for independent decisions, without having to fear that the common good will be jeopardized thereby.

Economic life also is subject to the supervision of the State; as the needs of the times and the proper management of the State may determine. Thus the State will be required to show special solicitude for the propertyless wage-earners with a view to preparing and achieving the uplift of the proletariat.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Leo XIII; *Diuturnum*.

<sup>10</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 80.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 25.

There are limits which the State may not overstep under any circumstances, as for example respect for the religious beliefs of the citizen. Natural law binds the state authority to observance of the Ten Commandments in its every act.

#### LEGISLATION

All legislation must be based upon the principles of the natural law. It is the duty of the lawmaker to give these immutable moral principles legal effect. Consequently every statute must have regard to the dignity of the human person. A rule of law which impedes all free civic activity infringes the natural law of human freedom, which of course must dovetail with the organization of the community. Moreover, only law which is based upon the principle of natural law will provide the citizen with that security for his person and his interests which can never be realized through formal decree. Positive law is in process of constant development, since its purpose is precisely to guarantee the efficient organization of community life. A rigid insistence on laws can lead to injustice. Legislation and judicial decisions must, therefore, be adapted to constantly changing social needs.

In the interest of justice and security the judge may only be bound by the law and moral principles. No one may be deprived of liberty without a court order or judgment. To

secure the common good, however, there is need for a strict administration of the penal law, which will operate against real criminals without hesitation. The community has the power to protect itself against these latter by security measures applied by the courts.

#### ECONOMIC LIFE

As a social way of life economic activity is essentially an element of human culture.<sup>12</sup> It finds its broadest field of application in the life of society. The aim of social economy is to meet the collective material requirements of man's cultural life, to furnish him especially with the goods and service he needs. Unlike the animal, man is not provided for by nature in the raw. For him the procurement of the necessities of life and security is a cultural task. Man is endowed with the capacity for progress, improvement, refinement. The cultural import of social economy lies, therefore, in the fact that it places the demand for material goods and services on the constantly rising plane of human endeavor.<sup>13</sup> Only by work can man provide for his human needs. He makes use of machinery, therefore, as a means to an end. Technical advancement is entirely reasonable when it serves to promote the genuine welfare of mankind.

The Creator has disposed the

<sup>12</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 42.

<sup>13</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 75.

goods of this world in terms of bulk, number and weight. Production is, therefore, susceptible of measurement and calculation, like all the transient things of nature. Even the operations of a barter and exchange economy are subject to specific standards of measurement and evaluation, of which the first prescription is a fair price for goods and services. But the one-sided view of business in general and of money economy in particular fails to recognize the real nature of economic life and leads to a radical misconstruction of social economy. Although business as such is a cultural instrument, and is not to be regarded as wicked except in a very limited respect, this is no reason why it can or should be tackled like a sort of problem in arithmetic. Higher and nobler virtues are required of him who undertakes the stern and prudent discipline of economic power: social justice and social charity.<sup>14</sup> If justice is to be done to the personal character of human labor, the economic system must provide a man with the opportunity to employ his creative capacity for the satisfaction of human needs in the measure of their urgency and value.

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Society is organized desirably when men who work together in the various cultural spheres—economic and otherwise—combine their professional

skills to form a functional group where each is guaranteed a definite social status. These same functional groups are then incorporated for the transaction of business and direct the activities of their cultural province, in full freedom under their own particular laws and powers, toward the realization of the common welfare.<sup>15</sup> The State from her appointed watchtower above, supervises their united effort.

#### MAN UPROOTED AND ENSLAVED

We must stigmatize as the great sore spot of modern society the fact that an extraordinary large number of men, yes, well-nigh the whole of mankind, have been stripped of their character as subjects in society and degraded to the status of mere objects. Modern economic evolution has shattered the existing structure of human society without building a new social order to take its place. It has thus given rise to a class of mere wage-earners entirely destitute of means of production and allowed it to grow to enormous proportions. These wage-earners lack any fixed social profession. Their daily lives are delivered over to insecurity and exposed to all the vicissitudes of economic change. Today the economy needs them and offers them a job at subsistence wages. Tomorrow it has no further use for their energies and refuses them altogether the opportunity

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 126.

<sup>15</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 84.

to work and earn a decent livelihood.

We may grant that the standard of living of wage-earners, in the upper brackets especially, has reached an all-time high in many countries, surpassing even that of the well-to-do in times past. But the proletariat, particularly where it constitutes an inescapable and inherited status, continues to be a contradiction of all social order, an affront to the dignity of man and to his fundamental right to be the master, not the slave of the social machine.<sup>16</sup>

#### INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

A marked perversion of all principles of social order into their opposite has resulted from the complete distortion of the institution of private property. The purpose of earthly goods, designed by God to serve the needs of mankind, and especially to provide the family with subsistence and security, is no longer realized by the private property systems of our times.<sup>17</sup> But in comparison to the above-mentioned ignorance, disregard and abuse of all true human dignity—in fact as well as in principle—a distorted institution of private property, however sorely it may need revision, takes second place.

Only the materialist can entertain the illusion that a topsy-turvy social order can be restored by adjustments in the institution and distribution of

private property. That means confusing cause and effect. The very opposite is true: only a healthy social order can produce a sound system of ownership and distribution.

#### APPLICATIONS

From the principles under review and the situation of controlling fact we have just described, our conclusions emerge as follows:

1. *Renunciation of the totalitarian State in any of its forms.* In its place a vigorous democracy which realizes the common good while at the same time leaving free scope above all for the legitimate activity of other social forces. If it would fulfill the task assigned to it by history, the State must stand above political parties and all other social forces besides, as the guarantor of the common good. It may not take upon itself any enterprise which other and smaller communities can handle more efficiently. There is the danger that a solidification of the form of the State, dictated by social conditions, may be resisted. The totalitarian state-systems, even when they attempt to insinuate themselves into economic life, suppress not only the freedom of the individual but small business as well, since they allow both ruthlessly to be absorbed into the unitary state. In justification of this they allege the good of the people or of the "work-

<sup>16</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, pars. 57-62.

<sup>17</sup> *Rerum Novarum*, par. 7, *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 56; Pius XII, *Pentecost Message*, 1947, pars. 13-15.



ing class" which, they assert, must protect itself against pretended reactionary forces. The non-totalitarian but powerful state, in contrast, must guarantee competence to the smaller associations and communities without having to fear that the common welfare may be jeopardized thereby because of group-selfishness. Especially should the State restore self-government to municipalities and organize vocational groups. In the cultural field the State is required to further the creative effort of personality and accord it a broad measure of freedom. In the establishment of the school-system the desire of those charged with the duty of education is controlling. The rights and liberties of the Church must be respected.<sup>18</sup>

2. *Uplift of the proletarian masses*, to be achieved:

a) by the *reconstruction of society*, through the creation of groups organized according to their professional function in society (the so-called "vocational groups") which assign and guarantee to each member of the populace the social status appropriate to the craft or skills of his calling. An institution of this kind will further accord to the individual definite and responsible membership in an occupational organization estab-

lished by public or state law.<sup>19</sup>

b) *By free choice of occupation and place of work.*

c) *By conditions of employment* which emphasize the human-rights feature of the wage-contract along with the duty of mutual fidelity it imposes on worker and employer.<sup>20</sup> Hence an employment policy closely linking labor and management.

d) *By an institution of property* which will result in the widest possible distribution of ownership.<sup>21</sup> This should properly be effected, where practicable, through regulation of the flow of income.<sup>22</sup> There is urgent need to reintegrate socially those population groups who lack the necessities of life, e.g., the victims of bombardment, the homeless and plundered people from the East and from other localities. These groups may be expected to take an active part in the program of self-restoration only when they are furnished with resources comparable in some degree to those possessed by people who have suffered less from the war and its consequences. To this end coercive intervention in the distribution of goods is imperative immediately. In the absence of other ways and means, this recourse to compulsion is justified by the exigencies of the common good.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942; par. 36; Pius XI, *Divini Illius*.

<sup>19</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 84.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 65; Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, par. 22; Pius XII, September 1, 1944.

<sup>21</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraph 58 to the end; Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942; Pius XII, *Pentecost Message*, 1943, par. 10.

<sup>22</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, Para. 57-58.

<sup>23</sup> Bishops of West Germany, Easter Monday, 1946.

This means the expropriation of privately owned property for public purposes with due compensation. It may be justified in certain cases where the general welfare requires it. But even where legitimate, it is much more of a hindrance than a help to the wider distribution of property mentioned above.<sup>24</sup> Such property, consequently, should not be transferred outright to the State, but should be vested wherever possible in municipal, professional or similar organizations, alternatively in the regime based on a mixed economy. Excessive concentration of property with its consequent accumulation of economic power should be counteracted not so much by legitimate fiat and sanctions as by the promotion of all available organizational, marketing and fiscal techniques to enable little and medium business to operate under fair competitive conditions.

Instead of parcelling out large agricultural holdings and liquidating big industrial concerns, we should be concerned to prevent their dissipation. The limited possibilities for peasant settlements in Germany make it imperative to provide needed housing of all other kinds, with prior inducement to the individual to live in a home of his own. Secondary industrial projects and agricultural settle-

ments should be subsidized. Each family should aim at a fixed holding of a small portion of land.<sup>25</sup> Though many families may lack the desire or the capacity for such ownership, access to the land must be afforded to those who are willing and able. The others should be made to appreciate the importance of a home of their own through education.

3. *Fortifying the family*, to be achieved:

a) By *acknowledgment*, without reserve or restriction, of the parents' right to educate with the assistance of the State.<sup>26</sup> Here the proposal offered above in another connection is pertinent: the school should be given back to parents and to the teachers of their choice. It is even more pertinent that members of families should not be conscripted for public works except as a measure of real and absolute necessity.

b) By providing opportunity to earn an adequate family wage,<sup>27</sup> by which we understand a wage sufficient for the maintenance of a family without obliging the mother to seek employment outside the home.<sup>28</sup>

c) Many families, notably in the poorer districts, have ceased to exist as economic units and are often represented as mere aggregates of per-

<sup>24</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraph 114; Pius XII, March 11, 1945 to the Workman's Association, par. 15.

<sup>25</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 35; Pius XII, Pentecost 1942, par. 24.

<sup>26</sup> *Rerum Novarum*, par. 11; Pius XI, *Divini Illius*.

<sup>27</sup> *Rerum Novarum*, par. 34, 35; *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 71.

<sup>28</sup> *Rerum Novarum*, par. 11; Pius XI, *Divini Illius*.

sons.<sup>29</sup> It should, therefore, be a matter of concern that as many families as possible be again supplied with a patch of land to be exploited in common: gardens, barnyards, sheep-folds, etc. This can best be realized by ownership of the home. In any case the authority of the father of the family over the children in economic matters must be established and confirmed.<sup>30</sup>

#### ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The principle of subsidiarity, which the Church invokes for other communities and notably for the State, she declares binding also on herself, despite her hierarchical constitution. It is far from her intention to by-pass or supersede the smaller organisms, especially the family which is charged with the task of religious instruction. On the contrary, she is precisely the most vigorous patron and protectress of the family, proclaiming its sacred character, its indissolubility and its right to provide for the education of the children. It is far from her desire that the rights of the laity should be slighted in favor of those of the clergy; contrariwise, she invokes the responsible assistance of the layman, under the guidance of the Pope and the Bishops, especially in the great task of winning back the world to

Christ, or, as Pope Pius XII puts it, in "the efficient functioning of the Church as the life-principle of human society." Thus laymen have their place in the front lines of the Church's life. They should be aware, and ever increasingly conscious of the fact that in this very enterprise of the Christianization of public life they not only *belong* to the Church, but *are* the Church, in the sense that they form the community of the faithful on earth under the direction of its common head, the Pope, and of the bishops in communion with him. That is why the Church has always recognized and approved the grouping of laymen from the most widely different walks of life to attain this objective.<sup>31</sup>

In their pastoral letter published at Fulda in 1946 the German bishops have declared that the State must pay heed to the situation of countless families driven from their homelands. Fair and appropriate measures must be taken to render as many of them as possible self-supporting. In this matter also the Church will be found ready to help.

The former large land-holdings of the Catholic Church in Germany were broken up by secularization laws about the year 1880, and have been reduced to very modest proportions.<sup>32</sup> Revenue from this source is not near-

<sup>29</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, par. 71; Pius XII, Pentecost 1941, pars. 22-24 compare with Resolutions of the Freiburg Catholic Day 1929.

<sup>30</sup> Compare *Rerum Novarum*, pars. 9-10.

<sup>31</sup> Pius XII, February 20, 1946.

<sup>32</sup> *The Catholic Church and its Landholdings, a Statistical Summary*, (Müller, Eberswalde, 1940).

ly sufficient to provide funds for the organization of the ministry. Church taxes would otherwise be superfluous, and would never have received the approval of the State. In the diocese of Cologne alone Church property is parcelled out among nearly 1,000 different administrators over whom the bishop has indeed the right of supervision, but whom he cannot oblige to pay taxes on any single piece of land. The properties are made up largely of foundations bestowed on the Church by benefactors for specific purposes, and cannot be alienated without jeopardizing the purpose of these foundations. Church lands, particularly in our part of the world, are hardly ever entrusted to the administration of their clerical owners. They are divided instead into small and diminutive holdings with a modest ground rent, and thus fulfill a noble social function. The bishops abide by their word, nevertheless, and have advised their clergy, in face of unprecedented need, to do everything compatible with observance of the above-mentioned commitments to provide pieces of land for the construction of private homes and garden-plots.

The Church in Germany appeals to the Universal Church, to the bishops and faithful abroad, for help in the immediate emergency. "Self-help" alone is no longer able to cope with it. This organization places its facilities at the disposal of the faith-

ful in need, and offers assistance besides in all other cases of distress.

The Church in her role of awakener and moulder of the social conscience never tires of emphasizing the principles of justice and righteousness in international as well as national life, and in the life of the individual man. Violation of these principles on a large scale has brought about colossal disaster. Their violation in more restricted areas is steadily on the increase, augmenting the misery.

With renewed courage the Church "takes upon her shoulders the gigantic task of forming and educating the nations" which she accomplished during the centuries when she enjoyed unlimited freedom of movement. She makes use, accordingly, of organizations, created for this purpose, whose members are men of the same profession or social background. This method is more appropriate today than ever before, because of the responsibility which social organization of the nation entails.

The Church is alone in disclaiming any promise of a paradise on earth for man. Here she parts company with all worldly-minded social reformers. On the contrary, with that sober sense of reality possessed only by one who is practiced in the handling of an eternal scale of values, she strips the mask and glamor from all illusions of an earthly paradise under whatever name it may be disguised or recommended. In this way

she removes the poison from the bitter cup of the world's misery, and so prepares the way for realization that want and sorrow are not in vain. She enables us to draw spiritual profit from them. Continuator of the life of Christ on earth, the Church is clothed

with His power, and channels to His living members in communion with her the grace to follow in His steps the Way of the Cross which Christ our Lord during His life on earth walked before them—unto His glory triumphant.



### *Mr. Wallace and Russia*

Russia to us in the United States looks like a huge glacier, moving steadily from east to west, smothering and pulverizing whatever may lie in its path. We in the United States ask this question: Is this another ice age on the way, and this time made by man instead of by nature?

If Mr. Wallace had looked east instead of west when he was in Europe, he might have found some cause to worry about imperialism in the world today.—*Eric Johnston at the World Film Festival, Brussels, Belgium, June 26, 1947.*



### *Group Responsibility*

Some of us act now as though World War II were like last year's Army-Navy football game, a contest that is over and done with. We seem to cherish the fond hope that we can revert to some vague normalcy and go on about the business of living without coming to grips with the underlying cause of the modern crisis. This cause is the fact that we no longer are living in a world of individuals, but in a world of organizations, and that there can be no solution of our problem until we find a rule by which these economic organizations, whatever they are—corporations, trade associations, labor unions, organizations of consumers, pressure groups of every kind—may live together in understanding and mutual helpfulness for the benefit of all the people.—*Congressman Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, April 2, 1947.*

# Charity White Paper

ADAM MARSH

*Reprinted from THE UNIVERSE\**

ONE of the most tragic developments of our excessively enlightened day is the way humanitarianism has lost most of its humanity. No age has been more ready or determined to do good to mankind, and no age has been more harsh or coercive to man. It attempts social regeneration on the highest possible principles and makes it a tyranny. It plans world-embracing Utopias on the best paper and the broadest scale and finds them largely occupied by concentration camps. It aims at creating a new heaven out of earth, and too often ends in attaining something akin to a terrestrial hell.

Again and again we have watched the rise of these New Orders, and seen them crumble and vanish. Yet oddly enough few have asked why this should be; why intentions so good should end so often in a corruption and cruelty that has been their undoing. And yet the reason is plain enough. Not even Heaven above the earth could be expected to function without the God-given spirit that alone makes Heaven possible—the spirit of God which is love.

It has been the abandonment of that spiritual quality of love, of

brotherhood, which is the essence of the Christian philosophy, and its replacement by the dreadful impersonalism of social regeneration by intellectual theory that is the seed of our modern frustration. The drift from Christianity has, indeed, been a drift from humanity.

The Christian recognition of the fundamental truth that all human improvement must work from within outward has been superseded by its imposition from outside. In the same way, charity that can only spring from the heart is now considered best born in a White Paper. Man no longer asks: "What shall I do to help the regeneration of brother man?" but "What is the State going to do about it?" Man's sense of personal charity has been replaced by the impersonal, and because of that he is no longer concerned about his neighbors, for, spiritually, he has no neighbors: officialdom has taken them over.

Reformers like St. Francis of Assisi first reformed themselves and then, following in the footsteps of their Master, mingled with and knew men in all their variety and all their needs. It was from this intimate knowledge

\* Field House, Breams Buildings, London, E.C. 4, England, Nov. 24, 1944

that they worked on the real good in men in order to call up their better selves to be better citizens. Now St. Francis has been replaced by a synthetic humanitarian, who knows not men, only the mass, and who imposes on that mass from a distance the full benefits of economic progress with all the dry harsh impartiality of the law.

#### WORKS DIRECTLY ON MAN

In other words, the Christian reformer worked directly on man, knowing that in making man good, the community became good. But the modern reformer has little use for man; he even despises man, seeing him as an unreasoning, herd-principled animal with no public good in him unless dragooned and controlled by what Mr. Wells, Mr. Shaw and other less popular if more practical fuehrers of the modern apocalypse call a "ruling elite." Man for such as these is created to obey orders made for his own good—or those who make them will know the reason why.

The tragedy comes when man, being still the creature of God and as such possessing free will, refuses to conform or obey. The Catholic Church faces this with sorrow, but, because she has a heart, also with patience. But your intellectual theorist has no heart, no patience, no bowls of compassion; only a rigid sense of law. His law says: "It has been decided that you shall be good and good you shall be or suffer the

consequences." And because the maker of that law works through strict intelligence and not his heart, he administers what he considers justice with that cold pitilessness that is completely insensitive in its ruthlessness, and so another tyranny or terror is created from the very best of intentions.

Within the short space of relatively recent history the world has seen many such intellectual movements rise and attempt to impose their prefabricated Utopias upon society, and too often it has noted with horror the results.

From Robespierre, inaugurating a new Age of Reason through the cold and dreadful massacre of those who disagreed with him, it has continued down to our own day when newer makers of New Orders have liquidated millions in the cause of social advancement, have coerced whole peoples, barring them from marriage, setting them to rot in prisons and forcing them into unparalleled wars—all on the highest possible principles, and also all with no more compunction than might go to the working out of some interesting intellectual exercise in geometry.

Certainly something monstrous has grown up within humanity since it departed from the Christian code and enslaved itself to the Pride of the Intellect that knows neither love nor God.



## Who is M. Bierut?

*Reprinted from the Melbourne ADVOCATE\**

THE honesty and credibility of this Soviet puppet, who holds the Polish people in thralldom, backed by the Russian NKVD, may be gleaned from the dossier of his red revolutionary career.

Bierut was born in 1891 in the locality of Laczna, near Lublin. His real name is Krasnodebski. The name, Bierut, was made out of the first two syllables of his two pseudonyms which he used in his party activities—namely, those of Bienkowski and Rutkowski.

Under the name of Bierut, Krasnodebski accepted Soviet citizenship in 1921. Attached at once to the Polish section of the Comintern, he spent several years on theoretical training and practical courses in Moscow. In December, 1923, he was sent to Poland for the first time, and almost at once he became one of the leading personalities of the Polish Communist Party. For a time he was organizing demonstrations and riots to undermine the institutions of the Polish State. In 1925, he organized the escape from prison of a prominent member of the Comintern named Leszczynski. On the occasion of this particular attempt, Bierut had to come into the open, and, consequently, was forced to leave the country illegally and to return to Moscow.

At that time the offices of the foreign department of the Comintern for East and Central Europe were in Vienna. Immediately upon his arrival in Moscow, Bierut received orders to proceed to Vienna and to take over duties at the Polish Section attached to the Vienna office. In 1929-30, anti-Communist feeling in Austria became more pronounced, and, as a result, Comintern offices for East and Central Europe were transferred to Prague. While continuing to work in the Polish Section, Bierut was promoted and given another more important post, that of the head of the section which dealt with smuggling agents and Communist literature from Czechoslovakia to other countries.

In 1932, Bierut, having assumed another name, was again sent to Poland, this time as the head of the Communist organization in that country. He was arrested, tried and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Several months later, however, on the ground of his Soviet citizenship, he was exchanged for Poles previously deported to Russia. At the end of 1933 the Soviet authorities opened in Leningrad a special course of Comintern training. All prominent agents operat-

\* 143-151 a Beckett St., Melbourne C. 1, Australia, Nov. 27, 1946

ing in East and Central Europe were summoned to attend. Among them were Bierut and Ivan Pietruscak. The following two years Bierut spent studying in Moscow. Meanwhile, in Prague, the foreign section of the OGPU (the Soviet Political Police—now called the NKVD) was created, and Krassovski appointed its head. In 1936-7, Bierut, this time under the assumed name of Rutkowski, became the head of the Polish Section of the OGPU office. The OGPU foreign sections were the highest Soviet political executives abroad. Shortly before the outbreak of war Bierut once again was summoned to Moscow. Immediately upon the entry of Soviet troops into Eastern Poland in 1939 he was delegated to build up the Communist system in the occupied territories. His residence was in Lwow, where he acted as the chief organizer of Soviet regime.

But only a few months later, in winter of 1941-2, he was dropped from a Soviet plane into Poland with a new assignment. He was ordered to take advantage of the German occupation to build a network of Communist organizations, and with their assistance to set up institutions and an administration to rival the Underground Polish authorities acting under the Polish Government in London.

In March, 1944, Bierut, accompanied by four other people, including Edward Osobka-Morawski, crossed the frontier into Russia. Upon their arrival at the Soviet capital they introduced themselves as the Polish National Home Council, and the only "genuine representation of the Polish nation." On the basis of an instruction of the Soviet authorities of July, 1944, all legislative power in Polish territories occupied by the Russians to the west of the River Bug was conferred on Bierut for six months. This decision was subsequently promulgated by the "Home National Council" in Lublin. By the decree of Sept. 13, 1944, Bierut was appointed provisional "president" of Poland.



### *Religion and Opium*

Fifteen and a half billion dollars are spent every year by American families for liquor, tobacco and entertainment. (It would seem that where religion is considered the opium of the people, opium tends to become the religion of the people.)—*From Commencement Address by Clare Boothe Luce, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Holy Cross, Ind., May 31, 1947.*

## Conditions in the Balkan Area

REUBEN H. MARKMAN  
Veteran Foreign Correspondent

*A Letter to the Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, JUNE 10, 1947.*

DEAR Mr. Congressman: I am writing this letter to tell you why I believe you should support President Truman's proposal to stop the advance of Soviet-backed imperial communism at Greece's northern border.

My claim to your consideration is the fact that I have spent most of the last thirty-five years in the Balkans, first as a missionary teacher in Bulgaria, and for twenty years as the correspondent of one of America's most influential newspapers. During the war I was deputy director of OWI for the Balkans and served overseas in the Middle East area. I returned to the Balkans as a correspondent in 1945 and came back in July, 1946, after having been expelled by the Red army.

Imperial communism is engaged in a political and conspiratorial offensive throughout the world and is devoting its chief efforts to the Balkan front. It holds the whole of eastern Europe, except Greece, and is trying to break through Greece into the eastern Mediterranean, the Near East and Africa.

The Communist-led governments of the Balkan countries north of Greece were imposed by Russia. Mr. Andrei Y. Vishinsky personally forced the present government upon Rumania March 6, 1945. He had flown from Moscow to Bucharest for the purpose. Backed by the Red army then occupying Rumania, he ousted a pro-Allied government, which had been loyal to America and Britain as well as to Russia, and placed the country in the hands of four Communists, three of whom had recently come from Russia.

The Bulgarian Government was set up in the Soviet Legation in Sofia and was imposed upon the country on September 9, 1944, as the Red Army approached the Bulgarian capital. It replaced a pro-Allied government. It is run by fanatical Bulgarian Communists who came from Russia and have long been in the service of world revolution.

Tito and his six Communist comrades who govern Yugoslavia, all of whom have been trained in Russia, were enabled to seize power in that country through Red Army aid and

—with some misdirected Allied help.

The Albanian government is a Soviet creation, mistakenly helped to power by the British.

The Hungarian Communists, with Red Army backing and direction, are violently taking over power in Hungary, replacing the pro-Allied regime. The chief Communist there came from Russia.

In other words, Russia exercises direct control over all of southeast Europe except Greece, and through armed Communists is striving to seize that country.

#### PHONY COMMUNIST FRONTS

In all cases Soviet Russia works through phony fronts. They are said to represent the oppressed common people, who have risen up and joined hands to throw off feudal yokes. That is false. The fronts are exclusively Communist instruments, devised to deceive the natives and the rest of the world.

These fake Balkan coalitions are said to consist of peasants, workers and progressive intellectuals, according to the classic Soviet formula. At first they did contain Communists, Socialists, some Peasant Party leaders, and a few feeble bourgeois democrats. But every element not subservient to Russian-directed communism has been forced out. These fronts now contain only compromised remnants of Socialist parties, a few renegade "democrats," and not a

single authentic peasant leader. They are Communist tools.

The Greek EAM or National Liberation Front is of the same nature. With the exception of the Communists, it contains no group that before the war was any stronger there than the prohibition party is in the United States. The EAM is a Communist-formed and Communist-directed front, using four especially created or fictitious groups as Communist stooges. It is working for world revolution, as all the "front governments" in southeast Europe.

The Russian-imposed, Russian-directed Communist governments in the lands north of Greece maintain totalitarian regimes. They have wiped out a large part of their real or potential political opponents in bloody purges, whose brutality has not been equalled in modern Balkan history.

They maintain large organizations of secret police which keep watch on dwellings, places of business, schools, coffee houses and practically every citizen. This exclusively Communist police works through terror, prisons, concentration camps. It controls jobs, civil service positions, the distribution of food, clothing and dwellings. It works hand in hand with people's courts that operate as branches of the Communist Party and are in the service of world communism.

The Balkan armies are under Com-

munist control and serve as sections or auxiliaries of the Russian Red Army. Like the "Glorious Red Army" they are above criticism. They are as sacrosanct as kings and emperors used to be.

#### SLAVE LABOR

The Balkan workers and practically all job holders have been forced into state unions directed by Communist dictators. In Yugoslavia, the Communist labor boss has come direct from Russia. The other Balkan labor bosses were trained in Russia. Slave labor and forced labor are officially and extensively practised in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. Men and women are snatched on the streets. Members of the free professions must get licenses from Communist officials.

Most property in Yugoslavia used for productive purposes, such as workshops, stores and factories, has been confiscated by the Communists. In Bulgaria Communists control most factories and much of the trade.

The peasants are objects of special persecution in each Communist-dominated Balkan country. Some peasants have been robbed of their land; others have been put into Sovhozi (state farms) and Kolhozi (co-operative farms) and reduced to the status of work-gangs. Everything produced by the peasants is subject to confiscation by the state, and much is being confiscated. Not one peasant

leader in any Communist-ruled land is allowed freely to carry on his political activity. Most are subject to extreme repression. Not a few have been killed. To receive land or supplies, peasants must join Communist or Communist-led parties.

With property, enterprises, jobs, workers unions and the peasantry under communistic control; with the police, army and courts serving as departments of the Communist Parties, every family's subsistence is at the mercy of the Communists.

The schools, from the kindergartens up, are Communist controlled and serve as institutions for Communist indoctrination. Communist students force the dismissal of non-Communist professors. Communist-led workers demolish student dormitories.

The publication of books and magazines is under Communist direction and control. In Yugoslavia there is no opposition publication or paper; in Bulgaria the last opposition daily has been suspended; in Albania even opposition whispers are stifled.

The radio is exclusively in Communist hands. Sport organizations, women's societies, children's and youth's associations, touring clubs, and every other social institution have been taken over by Communists. Religious activity is restricted, though religious services are permitted.

The purpose of such tyranny is twofold: First to enable a minority

to hold power and second to convert the Balkan peoples into shock troops for the advance of communism.

Already Russia is using those troops for further advances. She and her satellites are pushing against Greece with great force in order to establish a solid front of Communist regimes from Moscow to Athens.

Soviet Russia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania give constant and extensive moral support to the Communist-led Greek rebels. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria also give them military aid. Slav Communists in Greece, closely connected with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, are among the most active fighters against the Athens government. They and their comrades in Belgrade and Sofia want to separate large northern areas from Greece; they want to partition Greece, through the device of a "free Aegean Macedonia."

Naturally, there are other factors in the situation. Greece is a barren, overpopulated land, crowded with destitute refugees. It suffered greatly from the war—from many wars. The nation has long been divided into political factions that have bitterly fought each other. There are armed Fascist conspirators as well as armed Communist conspirators. The Government is not free from graft.

But these matters, though exceed-

ingly regrettable, are only subsidiary. The salient fact, overriding all others, is that armed Communist conspirators forming part of a Balkan Communist front are trying to impose a Tito-like regime on Greece. They have been striving toward that since 1943, working closely with Tito and directly with Soviet missions. For that they created E.A.M. Sometimes the Communists have been in the Government, as in 1944, sometimes out of the Government, but in all cases they have worked with equal vehemence and treachery to seize exclusive power. Regardless of whether there is a king or president in Athens, whether this government exists or another, the Communists will continue to work for power, with violence and deceit.

The task to which President Truman has called America is not easy. Nor will it be brief. One of the most terrific world forces in history is trying to break through the Greek front as a further step toward setting up a global Soviet system. What is pressing on Greece is not a few mountain rebels, but world communism. America is asked to check that force of darkness and tyranny, not chiefly for the sake of the 7,000,000 Greek people—though that is important—but in order to hold the American front against total enslavement.

## On Acreage Limitation

*Statement Adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, April 16, 1947*

**L**AND-TENURE policy and trends in land-ownership are closely connected with the welfare of the family and the distribution of private property. Even when brought about under the guise of economic efficiency, the concentration of land in the hands of a few is a practice destructive at once of wholesome family living and of widespread private ownership. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference stands unalterably opposed to such concentration of land ownership, even in cases in which charitable or religious enterprises, or both are made partial beneficiaries of the profits from such holdings.

The Conference strongly advocates the framing of public land policy in such a way as to protect family-type farmers and to safeguard them from the inroads of land monopolists, whether the monopolists be individuals or corporations. One of the objectives of the Conference is to encourage residence upon the land by families who operate their own productive and efficiently-managed agricultural holdings. In accordance with sound American principles and established Christian teaching, the Conference wishes to see as many families

as possible enjoy the light, the space, the air, and experience the wholesome and encouraging sense of enterprise and ownership fostered by productive rural living.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference intends to resist to the extent of its powers the dangerous collectivistic tendency of the large landholders who would repeal the acreage limitation wisely attached for over forty years to Federally-sponsored reclamation and irrigation projects. It recalls that outstanding men of both major political parties have favored the inclusion of such restrictions in the bills authorizing appropriations for reclamation projects. The Conference does not wish to see this tradition departed from in the case of the Central Valley Project of California or in any other projects which have been or will be authorized. If, at times, minor modifications are necessary in certain areas in order to rectify errors in judgment as to what constitutes an efficient unit, these modifications should always be made in the interest of the family-type farmer and not for the benefit of a privileged few who own many hundreds or even thousands of acres of land.



The efforts of large landholders to fasten the term "socialistic" or "communitistic" upon the restrictive provisions adopted by our Congress for the purpose of widely distributing private property are repudiated by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The Conference in fact, is convinced that no more dangerous collectivistic tendency exists short of communism than the present concentration of productive property. The practices of land monopolists destroy the spirit of private enterprise and reduce our rural population to the status of proletarian agricultural workers. No surer preparation for state capitalism was ever devised than this progressive concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

#### WIDESPREAD OWNERSHIP

In reiterating the genuine Catholic viewpoint on this grave social question, the Conference draws attention to the statement of Pope Pius XII, September, 1944, on the subject of widespread ownership:

When the distribution of property is an obstacle to this end (the genuine productivity of social life and the normal returns of national economy) . . . the State may, in the public interest, intervene by regulating its use or even, if it cannot equitably meet the situation in any other way, by decreeing the expropriation of property, giving a suitable indemnity. For the same purpose, small

and medium holdings in agriculture . . . should be guaranteed and promoted.

The Conference considers the acreage restrictions of the reclamation acts to be in full accord with this teaching.

It is noteworthy that the repeal of acreage limitation in the Central Valley and in other projects would benefit special-interest groups and damage family-type farmers; that it would mean diversion of Federally-appropriated funds to speculative commercial enterprises and corporation farms; that it would appreciably increase the number of migrant agricultural workers, who with their families are required for large-scale farm operations; that it would encourage the exploitation of these workers; that it would exclude from land-ownership veterans wishing to set up moderately sized farms of their own on acres made productive through public irrigation; that by aggravating the trend to large-scale land holdings and attaching speculative values to land which individuals or families wish to purchase, it would militate against the best interest of the people in other parts of the country. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference, accordingly, asks that our national legislature take into consideration these facts as well as the pleas of the special-interest groups who stand to benefit by repeal.

# De Montford—Glorious Knight of Mary

ARTHUR SHEEHAN

Reprinted from *The MARIANIST*\*

WHEN the late Cardinal O'Connell of Boston was rector of the American College in Rome, he used to hold up a small book before the eyes of the seminarians and tell them to read it. "It will make you good priests," he would say.

The book was *The True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Blessed Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, whose canonization took place on July 20.

Cardinal O'Connell himself tells of his great admiration for the work in the preface of the edition published shortly before his own death. He could have gone on to quote many other religious leaders' predilection for this book, such, for instance, as that of Pius XI, who, when he was asked about it, said: "Not only am I acquainted with it, but I have practiced it since my youth."

He could have related how Cardinal Vaughan was accustomed to give a copy to every priest in his diocese and how Cardinal Mercier was constantly spreading the good word regarding the true devotion to Mary, so beautifully explained in this little treatise.

Because of its peculiar fragrance which never seems to wear off on

reading and re-reading, this writing has become one of the greatest classics of spiritual literature. It has been important in informing the spirit of the Legion of Mary, that widespread movement of apostolic young lay persons who have been doing such eminent work for souls these last two decades and more.

Its author, Blessed Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, was born in Montfort-le-Canne on January 31st, 1673, the son of a poor solicitor.

At the age of twelve, he entered the Jesuit school at Rennes, and the next eight years were spent earnestly with his studies, but still more in strengthening his own spiritual life. It was here that he first evidenced his particular affection for the poor, visiting them in the hospital on his free periods and doing them many favors.

Through a Mademoiselle de Montigny, who had visited at his home, he heard of the great seminaries of St. Sulpice, and of their holy founder, Father Olier, who had established them about fifty years before this time. Stories of the zeal of the founder and of the ecclesiastics whom these seminaries had nurtured so won Louis-Marie that he conceived a

strong desire to study at one of them.

His new-found friend promised to pay his seminary expenses if he could get to Paris. He started out on foot, gospel-fashion, to beg his way to Paris, seventy-six leagues distant.

On the way he gave away his extra clothing and arrived so destitute that the good lady thought it best that he should not present himself in this way even to the fathers of St. Sulpice.

He entered instead another seminary where the rule stressed the fact that the students should always live in the spirit of Our Lord's poverty and humiliations, and should reverence our Blessed Mother as mistress of the community.

One of his after-class tasks was to visit the plague-stricken areas of Paris and to act as night watcher. It was here that he found the matter for the terrifying realism of his sermons, as one writer explains.

The death of the rector of the Seminary, Father de la Barmondière, and the consequent disbanding of the community, brought on a new trial for him. He did not have the necessary financial help to go to St. Sulpice.

Another small community was then opened to him, and if he had seen poverty before, he was to see it here still more realistically. This community was so destitute that the food was of the coarsest and no wine ever was used for meals. Louis-Marie's very strong constitution couldn't stand this and he came down with a

fever and was taken to a hospital to die.

Suddenly, he began telling those about him very forcibly that he was going to get better. It seemed as if he had supernatural knowledge of this fact. His health did improve immediately, and he was able to go back to the seminary.

#### EXTRAORDINARY SANCTITY

Word of the extraordinary sanctity of this seminarian had already reached St. Sulpice and the way was cleared for him to enter the little seminary. On the day of his arrival the students publicly recited a *Te Deum* to welcome him.

Some of the seminarians and fathers at St. Sulpice thought there was a note of singularity about his devotions and piety, and his superiors, thinking they saw in it an over-attachment to his own point of view, wisely tried to correct it. He never seemed to feel at home in small talk, and one of the obediences imposed on him was to read and learn by heart a book of funny stories which he was to relate at recreation hours. We can imagine how hilarious this must have been to the seminarians, knowing him as they did.

Yet these tests only brought out more and more his obedience and gentleness of disposition. He seemed to thrive on humiliations. His superiors were satisfied, and he was chosen to represent the Seminary at

a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Chartres. He was likewise given the care of the Lady Chapel in the Church of St. Sulpice.

He was ordained on June 5, 1700, and after a week's retreat, celebrated his first Mass at the altar of Our Lady. His friend, John Baptist Blain, assisted him at the Mass, and later declared that it was as if an angel had been at the altar.

For a time, he preached in the country parts of the diocese of Nantes, but it wasn't an auspicious beginning. The Jansenists were so strongly entrenched that he met opposition everywhere.

One day while waiting for the Bishop of Poitiers to return, he wandered into the poorhouse to pray in the chapel. He knelt in prayer for four hours and the word went around that he was another inmate. He must certainly have been very ragged.

The people in the poorhouse took up a collection for him. Instead of embarrassing him, this made him extremely happy. When the people discovered he was a priest, they begged that he be allowed to stay as their chaplain, and after some delay the permission was granted.

But conditions in the hospital were sad indeed. "A house of unrest," he described it, "where peace is not; and a house of poverty where material and spiritual riches alike are lacking."

He set himself the task of reforming the institution, continually em-

phasizing the truth that in the person of the sick, the hospital staff was nursing Christ. He was foremost himself in caring for the suffering, and tried to reconcile them to their poverty by becoming poorer than themselves.

He gathered a small group of girls in the hospital together into a little community. A special room was provided for their devotions, and this he called "Wisdom," in honor of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. The members of this community were given a rule of life, and he aroused in them a great devotion to the Holy Eucharist, and to Divine Wisdom, and impressed upon them that they should always have recourse to Mary to learn the depths of these doctrines.

A young girl, Marie-Louis Trichet, who was to be the first member of his Congregation of the Daughters of Wisdom, joined the small community at the hospital. Ten years later, the Congregation of the Daughters of Wisdom was formally set up, and Marie-Louis Trichet, now Marie-Louis of Jesus, became the first superior.

His hospital work met with such opposition from the officials that the Bishop authorized him to resign and to preach missions throughout the diocese.

He believed that the best and quickest way to reach the people was through their senses, and he used religious emblems of all kinds in his

missionary work. He would have the people erect Calvaries, and join in huge processions, carrying a crucifix in one hand and a signed Contract of Alliance with God in the other. As many as ten thousand persons would walk barefooted in these mission processions. He was always writing hymns which the people loved.

The highlight of each mission was the renewal of the Baptismal vow and the solemn consecration to Jesus through Mary. This was to be more and more the central theme of his teaching and the one to which he was to bring such magnificent lights.

#### APPEALS TO ROME

But all this zeal and enthusiasm was not without opposition. The Jansenists were furious at his insistence on frequent Communion, and they carried stories about him to the Bishop. The latter, against his better inclination, bowed to the Jansenists. De Montfort obeyed immediately, and took it all as a signal from Providence. He decided to go to Rome and place his teachings before the Holy Father, Clement XI.

Armed only with a Bible, his breviary, a crucifix, his rosary, an image of the Blessed Virgin, and his staff, he set out for Rome on foot, fasting every day. The house of Mary at Loretto delayed him for some days.

When de Montfort came in sight of Rome and the dome of St. Peter's,

he threw himself on his knees and kissed the ground. Then, raising himself, he removed his shoes and walked barefooted into the Holy City, his mind dwelling on St. Peter's entrance into this great capital of the Caesars.

He had a long talk with Pope Clement, who was later to condemn Jansenism. The Pope made him an Apostolic Missionary to France, and granted him a number of special indulgences.

On his return to France, he made a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel to thank the great Archangel for his help in combatting the terrible temptations of the devil to which he had been exposed. He also went to pray at the shrine of Our Lady at Saumur.

About this time he became a member of the Third Order of St. Dominic.

But the Jansenist hatred still followed him. After several moves, he received an invitation from the Bishops of Lucon and La Rochelle to preach in their dioceses. Here he spent practically the rest of his life. These two Bishops stood by him and backed him against the attacks of his enemies.

It was at La Rochelle that he first came into contact with widespread Protestantism. Instead of treating its adherents to learned speeches, he appealed to them with simple truths about the Faith. But it was in the Rosary that he rested the great part of his power.

During this period he composed "The Secret of Mary," which contained the essence of the doctrine which he was later to develop. Some time later, friends gave him a house at St. Eloi for a retreat, and here in a bare room, furnished only with a bed, a chair and a candlestick, besides his religious articles, he wrote *The True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

He even foretold what would happen to the book. "I clearly foresee raging beasts," he wrote, "who shall come in fury to tear with their diabolical teeth this little writing and him whom the Holy Ghost has used to write it, or at least to cover it up in the darkness and silence of a coffer so that it may not appear. . . ." He foretold that a great band of people would be inspired in later years to conquer the devil by means of this devotion.

One hundred and thirty years later, the book was discovered by accident by the superior of the Company of Mary, an order which de Montfort founded.

The true devotion to Mary, according to Blessed Louis-Marie, consists in a complete surrender of one's life to her will. She who is grace and nature's perfect exemplar can best draw the soul to a perfect love and following of Jesus.

In his remarkable work on "The Mystical Body of Christ." Father Mura has written of this book:

Pius X more than others has set in brilliant relief the doctrine of the universal mediation of Mary and of her spiritual maternity in his beautiful encyclical, "*Ad Diem Illum*," which is in substance only a transposition of the book of the true devotion of Blessed de Montfort: the Holy Pontiff was likewise a fervent admirer of the celebrated little treatise. . . . So much so that one finds in this Marian encyclical not only the most familiar thoughts of the great servant of Mary, but often even his expressions.

In the spring of 1713, de Montfort became very ill. From his seminary days he had wanted to gather about him a band of missionaries who would go forth to renew a vigorous spiritual life in the parishes of France. Now he determined to start a company of priests who would carry on his work.

One day, while preaching to a group of nuns of La Providence, he told his listeners: "There is someone who resists me here. But he shall not escape me."

Afterward, a young priest came to the sacristy and said that he supposed he was the one referred to, for he had come in by chance and had disagreed with the preacher. Looking firmly at his visitor, Louis-Marie de Montfort said: "You must come with me."

This young priest, Father Adrian Vatel, became the first priest to join de Montfort's congregation, the Company of Mary.

His health was becoming poorer

and his days were numbered. Remarkable stories were being told of his visions and ecstasies.

De Montfort's last sermon was on the gentleness of Jesus. The Bishop of La Rochelle had sent word that he would attend, and, although worn out with exhaustion, the saintly priest spoke of his best, and the congregation was in tears.

Then he went back to his bed and received the Last Sacraments.

At eight o'clock in the evening of April 28, 1716, at St. Laurent-sur-Sevre, he passed to Paradise.

At his death his two congregations

consisted of but two priests and a handful of nuns. Yet today, they have spread widely, aided from Heaven by the grace of their Founder.

But wider and wider still have spread the waves of his true devotion to Mary. She to him was the sea of all graces, and now with the canonization, this devotion will receive fresh impetus, until it shall engulf all the powers of evil, making them subservient to Jesus in Mary, and until all things shall show forth the Kingship of Christ and the Queenship of her who is Queen of Heaven and earth.



### *Dignity of Priests*

O wonderful dignity of the priests; in their hands, as in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Son of God becomes incarnate. O venerable sanctity of the hands; O happy function of the priest! He that created me (if I may say so) gave me the power to create him; and He that created me without me is Himself created by me.—*St. Augustine.*

#### THE CATHOLIC MIND

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: John LaFarge    EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Benjamin L. Masse

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